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ABSTRACT

Designed to serve as an introduction to some aspects of Korean culture and civilization, this text consists largely of lectures on various topics prepared by staff members of the Defense Language Institute. The major section on the Republic of South Korea includes information on: (1) the historical setting; (2) the politico-military complex; (3) the socio-economic structure; (4) the socio-religious tradition including religion, education, kinship, the Korean house, customs, and cuisine; and (5) artistic and intellectual expression. The final unit on the People's Republic of North Korea examines the geography of North Korea, the structure of the government, party politics, foreign policy, industrial development, land reform and collectivization, the educational system, and the Armed Forces. (RL)

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K O R E A N

Basic Course

AREA BACKGROUND

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PREFACE

The purpose of this volume is to provide the student of the Korean language with an introduction to the native speakers of that language and their culture. Understanding culture is an indispensible part of the language learning process, because a profound relationship exists between language and culture. Consequently, learning a foreign language is essentially an ethnolinguistic experience. To be able to converse in a "grammatically" correct manner is not enough. One may commit errors of graver consequences if the socio-cultural aspects of language learning are neglected.

This book was designed as an introduction to some aspects of Korean culture and civilization. It consists of lectures on various topics prepared by staff members of the DLI Korean Branch in Monterey. It is hoped that they will create in the student the desire to pursue his investigations further and make his language study ever more meaningful.

One hour lectures on the various topics are presented by instructors every other week, starting in the third week of the course. Students are given reading assignments prior to the lecture. The volume is used as reference material and students are encouraged to read it. For

convenience, a bibliography is appended offering suggestions for further reading. Attention is specifically called to the following books recently published on Korean civilization: Area Handbook for the Republic of Korea, Westwood Research, Inc. Aug. 1969, and Area Handbook for North Korea, Oct. 1969.

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Introduction to

Area Information Program

Korean Branch

I. Intercultural communication

Human societies have much in common. However, the differences are more striking and deep-seated than one might surmise from a cursory observation. These differences are natural reflections of the varying cultural patterns. All societies have culturally distinct customs, mores, and beliefs that are often incomprehensible and mysterious to us. The importance of understanding these cultural differences can not be overemphasized.

Throughout history societies have deeply influenced one another; today more than ever, modern communication systems permit endless and unprecedented opportunities for intercultural exchange. As Landis states, the U.S. has become the leader of the free world; should this spirit of freedom prevail, America might extend her sphere of influence to the entire world. However, the fate of America's leadership will depend largely upon her understanding of other societies and upon a successful application of that understanding in international affairs.

A. Various needs

As the political, economic, military, and cultural commitments of the United States become worldwide, there is an ever-growing need for effective communication between Americans and other peoples. How can this be achieved?

The President's Commission on National Goals believes that Americans well prepared for cultural contact with foreign people should be encouraged to live and work abroad in increasingly larger number in the future. These people could and should become our good-will ambassadors. The present situation is already very promising.

There are many obstacles hindering effective intercultural communication and understanding. Personal misunderstandings in working with people overseas arise from many sources, including language barriers and differences in values, beliefs, social systems, role expectations and educational backgrounds. These variations must be recognized and understood in order to overcome and avert problems. The American going overseas must accept and deal with the fact that many non-Westerners have a rather distorted view of Americans, just as Americans may have of them. These stereotyped concepts about Americans are often based on impressions derived from American movies or books, emotional reactions to past events, on firsthand

contact with a limited number of Americans, and above all, on the skillful anti-American propaganda waged against us by our Communist adversaries throughout the world.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the anti-Yankee propaganda conducted by the Communists, Americans abroad have been able to prove to the world that the Communist picture of Americans as ruthless imperialists and financial exploiters is at best, propaganda-based distortion if not pure fabrication. The mere presence of Americans abroad will not counteract this propaganda. It is the Americans' behavior that is important in dispelling false images and facilitating better inter-cultural understanding. There is still much room for improvement in the training of people who will work overseas. The President's Commission believes that the universities, the business world, and the federal government should greatly strengthen and increase training in language and appropriate specialized fields in order to better prepare personnel being sent abroad. With proper training and attitude, these people can more effectively assist the underdeveloped or emerging nations in teaching their national objectives.

B. Cross-cultural problems

The first step in the creation of good working relations is inter-cultural understanding. When people from

different cultures come into close and prolonged contact with each other, problems may develop. As Foster states:

> Living and working in a new environment with different rules and unfamiliar ways of thinking is a difficult and emotionally demanding task. It is not surprising that investigators who have undertaken to evaluate the performance and problems of Americans overseas, have concluded that it is usually the human problems associated with working in a different culture that are likely to be critical in the success or failure of their assignment.[1]

The problems mostly stem from the faulty belief that our own way of life is the only natural and logical one, and that consequently, everyone should think, feel, and act in the same way we do. This is the first myth that must be dispelled. We must develop tolerance for and understanding of the cultures of other peoples. Each culture is unique and must be recognized as such. Therefore, we must know the history, religious life, economic system, social structure, and above all, the cultural behavior of a particular people in order to understand the present state of affairs and the national character of the society.

Secondly, traditions are the conditioned and reinforced habits of a society. They exert a very strong

---

[1]Robert J. Foster, Examples of Cross-Cultural Problems Encountered by Americans Working Overseas, p. 3.

influence over people and the value systems which they hold. Religion often influences people in a very forceful way; any blatant attempt to change the revered traditions and institutions may meet with extreme resistence. Thus, traditions cannot be ignored. They must be recognized, explored, and respected. As Fuller states:

> Sensitivity to other peoples is another prerequisite for successful work abroad. This is more than tact, courtesy, and good manners. It means an earnest desire to search for the assumptions and approaches which make another people's way of life different.[2]

C. Contrastive cultural analysis

As we have seen, cultures differ from society to society. In order to be effective in our contacts with peoples abroad, it is important to have an understanding of the contrastive aspects that exist between the socio-cultural institutions of the host nation and of our native country. The area lecture programs at this school assume that the student understands American culture. Consequently, we concentrate on the foreign culture hoping that the student will grasp the salient contrastive features of the two. However, in this process, students should be given professional help since drawing valid conclusions

[2]C. Dale Fuller, Training of Specialists in International Relations, pp. 46-47.

from the available data is definitely an extremely difficult undertaking. Mediocre or shallow knowledge will not suffice; the data should be as complete as possible and handled very carefully.

Students of culture such as Landis, Steward, and others, strongly recommend a holistic approach, viewing society as a series of interelated factors, each alteration of which effects all others. Therefore, in order to understand the socio-cultural whole of a people, extensive study must be done.

The principal means of mediating between an in-group and an out-group is language. Learning the language of the host nation greatly enhances one's acceptance and immeasurably assists in establishing a rapport with its people (the in-group). A well-known episode of an American Indian chief illustrates this point. When the chief's people were about to execute a white captive, the chief interceded on the captive's behalf, saying that the white, speaking the chief's dialect, was one of his own people. Fortunately such "critical" situations rarely arise. Nevertheless, knowing the language of the host nation is extremely helpful and effective in breaking cultural barriers. The in-group/out-group distinction is lessened; attraction may be heightened, rejection reduced.

II. Linguistic communication

Language is a product of civilization and cannot be separated from it. Therefore, all cultures are embedded in language, and language is the backbone and chief vehicle of culture. It is, however, very difficult to determine which exerts more influence, culture or language. We will briefly review the two main theories concerning the relationship between them. In spite of the opposing views, scholars reveal that language and culture are intrinsically intertwined.

The first hypothesis is that language is molded by culture. Sydney Harris facetiously says:

> It is a fashion if your wife wants to go along with it, and a fad if she doesn't.
>
> A rich man who has little schooling is merely un-lettered; and a poor man who has little schooling is ignorant....
>
> A group is a gang of boys we happen to know and like; a gang is a group of boys we happen not to know, and thus to fear...
>
> A man kills; a state executes; a nation conquers...[3]

These examples indicate the influence of culture upon language usage.

Roger Brown also states that language is molded by environmental conditions, social organizations, and prevalent modes of thought. Language, on the other hand, gives a

---

[3]Sydney Harris, "Antics with Semantics," Monterey Herald, Nov. 21, 1967.

series of clues for the study of culture. It is a complex index of racial, national, and other organizational characteristics. From it we learn information concerning customs and habits, beliefs, social institutions, and contacts with other groups.

Thus, language is said to be formulated by culture, and culture in turn can be understood in part by studying language. For example, Korean utilizes five or six gradations of politness, which cannot be seen in English. Therefore, in studying the Korean language, an English speaking person will learn some of the fundamental characteristics of the communal structure and other social stratifications of Korean society. He will see that the social manners emanating from Korean culture are partly reflected in the Korean language; without understanding the cultural system with which he is dealing, he cannot communicate properly and effectively with the Korean people.

In order to illustrate the above point, consider the use of certain Korean words. Tongmu originally meant "friend." This noun, however, was adopted by the North Koreans to express the Communist idea of "comrade." As a result, it became a taboo word in South Korea. Subsequently, North Korea adopted tongji for the same designation discarding tongmu. In turn, the use of tongji became taboo in South

Korea, and tongmu was restored to general acceptance and usage. Therefore, it is obvious that the cultural characteristics reflected in language do constitute a definite, very important learning problem. Exactly for this reason the exposure to the cultural aspects of language learning is not just indispensable, but also requisite for real knowledge (correct and effective use) of the language. Language is not purely linguistic sounds, words, and structures and it alone does not assure proper communication.

It is, then, a foregone conclusion that a contrastive cultural approach in language learning facilitates the acquisition of language. Therefore, it is imperative that students have a clear understanding of the major contrastive cultural features of his native and the target languages. This is one of the cardinal elements in mapping the semantics of two or more societies, without which cross-cultural communication is greatly hampered.

In order to understand the usages of language, the student should have the opportunity to view the language within the proper cultural context. For this reason, culture orientation in this department is carried out in the course not only through formal lectures, but also through such activities as dialogues, conversations, and film showings.

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I. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

A. The Social Scene

1. The Historical Setting

a. History of Korea (to 1910)

(1) The Ancient Period

Korea's early history is shrouded in legend. However, through archeological and anthropological research, together with a study of mythological tales, we can get a glimpse of its origin.

Korea abounds with various New Stone Age remains such as finely shaped stone knives, stone spearheads, or mortars; but a few remains of the Old Stone Age have also been found, indicating that the Korean Peninsula was inhabited even before the early New Stone Age.

Linguistically the Korean language is often classified as a branch of the Ural-Altaic language group which includes Mongolian, Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish. This fortifies the theory that the early Korean tribes had a definite ethnic link with northern Asian tribes.

According to a leading anthropoligist, Alex Hrdlicka, the prevalent physical type of Korean, more than that of any other Far Eastern people, approaches some branches of the white race.

At any rate, it is a common theory among historians that a nomadic tribe started its drifting from the area of the Ural Mountains gradually eastward, and, after many centuries, finally settled down in the southern part of Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula around the tenth century BC.

Mythological tales such as Tangun Sin Hwa (檀君 神話) identify a bear as a god or a divinity because Tangun, the founder of Korea, was a son born of the god Hwanwoong and a humanized female bear. Archeological studies indicate that

bear-worshipping tribes existed in widely spread regions of Northern Mongolia and Manchuria.

The Koreans, nevertheless, preserved many legends and tales about their national origin. They are important enough to be included in this treatment of Korean history, since many Koreans still believe them, and more importantly, they may contain important, though unverified historical data.

According to a mythical legend, Tangun founded the Kingdom of Tangun Chosen (檀君朝鮮) in November 2333 BC and his descendants ruled Korea until 1122 BC. Historically, very little is known about this period, except that there is some evidence that the people were still moving into the present-day Korean Peninsula from Manchuria and that the capital was near the Yalu River, while its domain included Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula.

According to still another legend, the Kingdom of Kija Chosen (箕子朝鮮) was established in Korea in 1122 BC. Its capital was at present-day Pyongyang, where the tomb of Kija still exists. However, most historians are positive that this tomb was built many centuries after Kija's death. Other Kija tombs are also found in southern China. It is believed that the legend of Kija was created by early Korean historians who wanted to have close ties with China. The truth is that the founder of the dynasty was a man who had a similar name to that of a Chinese sage who lived at about the same time. The family name of this dynasty was Han (韓).

In 194 BC, a general named Wiman (衛滿) ousted King Jung-Wang and established a kingdom called Wiman Chosen (衛滿朝鮮) in the northern part of Korea, replacing Kija Chosen. There were many small independent city-states in the southern parts of Korea during this period.

The Chinese Emperor Wu-Ti (武帝) conquered the northern part of the Korean peninsula as well as Manchuria in 108 BC. This Han Emperor's domain reached into present day Pyungan and Hamgyang provinces. Emperor Wu-Ti established four Chinese provinces in Manchuria and in the northern part of the Korean peninsula, one of which was Ak-Nang province with its capital city in Pyongyang. Angnang (Lolang) in time became a trading center of the Far East. Commercial trade between the Chinese Han Empire, the three Korean Han kingdoms, and with the newly developing Japanese kingdom went

through Angnang. Angnang developed into one of the richest and most highly civilized cultural centers of the Far East.

This expansion of the Chinese Empire caused many Koreans to move into the southern part of the Korean peninsula and to establish the three kingdoms of Mahan (馬韓), Byonhan (弁韓), and Chinhan (辰韓) around 108 BC. Mass immigration also took place from Korea to the Japanese islands of Kyushu and southern Honshu during this period.

The three Han kingdoms were primarily three different leagues of many self-ruling local kingdoms and were interdependent states ruled basically by one family, rather than being three completely separate kingdoms.

The Era of the Three Kingdoms

The four Chinese Han provinces and the three Korean Han states were in time replaced by the native Korean kingdoms of Koguryo (高句麗) in the north in 56 BC, Paekche (百濟) in the southwest in 18 BC, and Silla (新羅) in the southeast in 37 BC.

Koguryo retook all of the lost Korean territory including all of Manchuria and the eastern tip of China proper. The three kingdoms were related in culture and in language to that of the seminomadic people of Manchuria and Northern Asia as well as to the Japanese to the east. The civilization of China continued to pour into the Korean peninsula even after Korean (northern) independence. With it came the religion of Buddhism, which had come to China from India. It then went over to Japan. Korea, especially the Paekche kingdom, served as the route by which not only Buddhism but much of Chinese civilization reached the still remote island of Japan.

Koguryo kingdom had the tendency to be more militaristic than the other two kingdoms. Their people enjoyed hunting and other games which were closely associated with military warfare.

Koguryo successfully defended itself against the invasion of the Chinese Emperor Young-Ti (楊帝) of the Shuay Dynasty in 612 AD. Emperor Young invaded Koguryo with an army of more than a million men, commanding it himself. The invasion, however, resulted in the complete destruction of his forces, and in the assassination of the emperor himself as he fled the pursuing Koguryo army. This caused the downfall of the Shuey (隋) dynasty of China.

The emperors of the new T'ang dynasty (唐) wanted to revenge the earlier Chinese defeat and invaded Koguryo again in 645 AD with more than 350,000 men. The Chinese forces were commanded by Tai Tsung (唐太宗), the emperor of the new Chinese T'ang Empire. After four months of bitter battles near the border at Fort Anshi (安市城), the Chinese emperor lost an eye in a fierce battle and suffered a discouraging defeat. The T'ang emperor withdrew his forces completely from the Korean campaign.

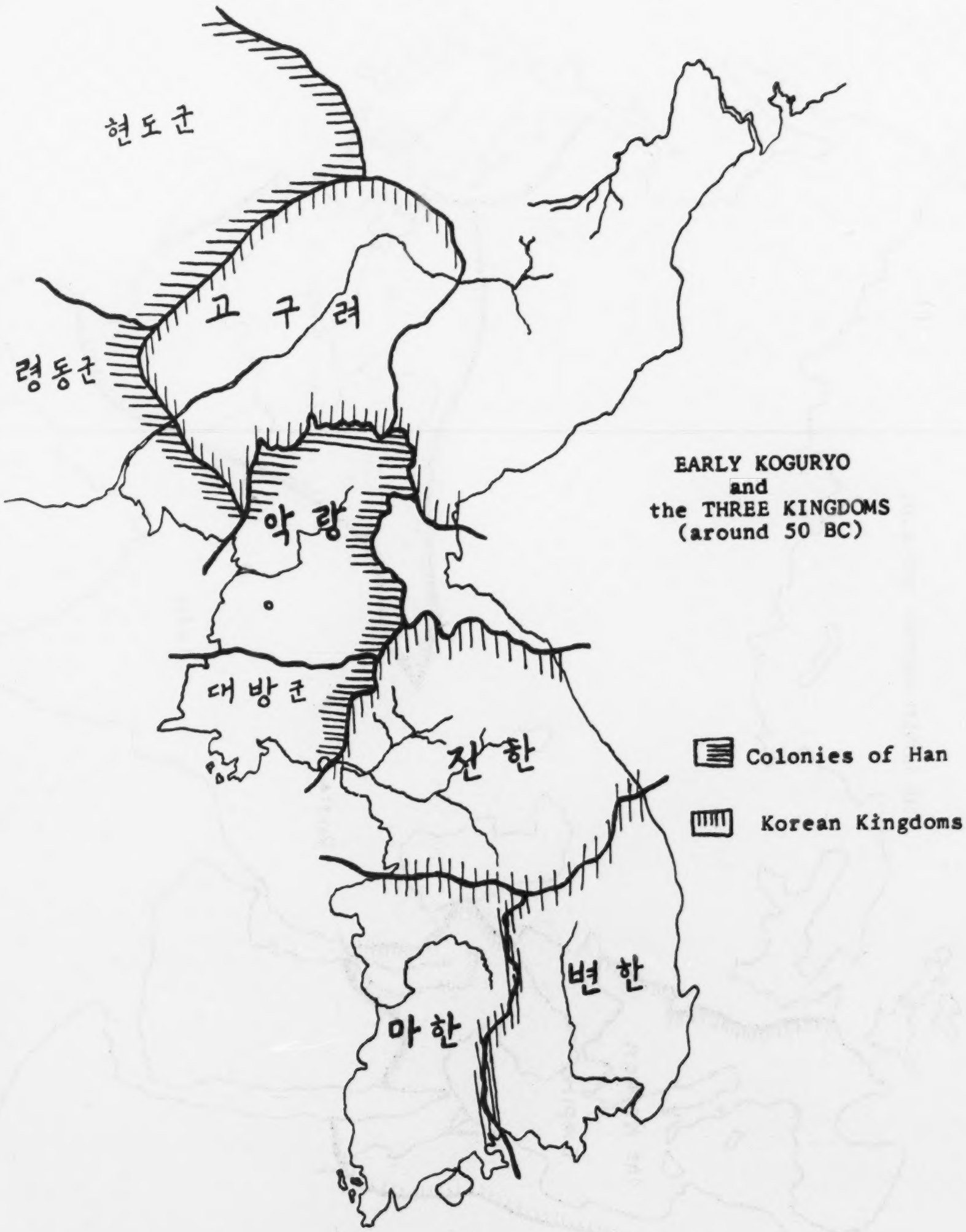
Taking advantage of this situation in the north between T'ang and Koguryo, the southern kingdom of Silla enlarged her military forces and later signed a military alliance with T'ang. In 668 AD, Silla, with the aid of the T'ang Empire of China, destroyed its two rivals, first Paekche and later Koguryo, thus unifying the Korean peninsula for the first time.

Unification of Korea by the Kingdom of Silla

T'ang tried to establish garrisons in the old territories of both Paekche and Koguryo. However, this was met by strong resistance from Silla. After several defeats by Silla forces, T'ang finally pulled her troops out of the Korean peninsula in 677 AD. Thus T'ang's ambition to dominate the entire Korean peninsula failed and Silla attained true unification of Korea.

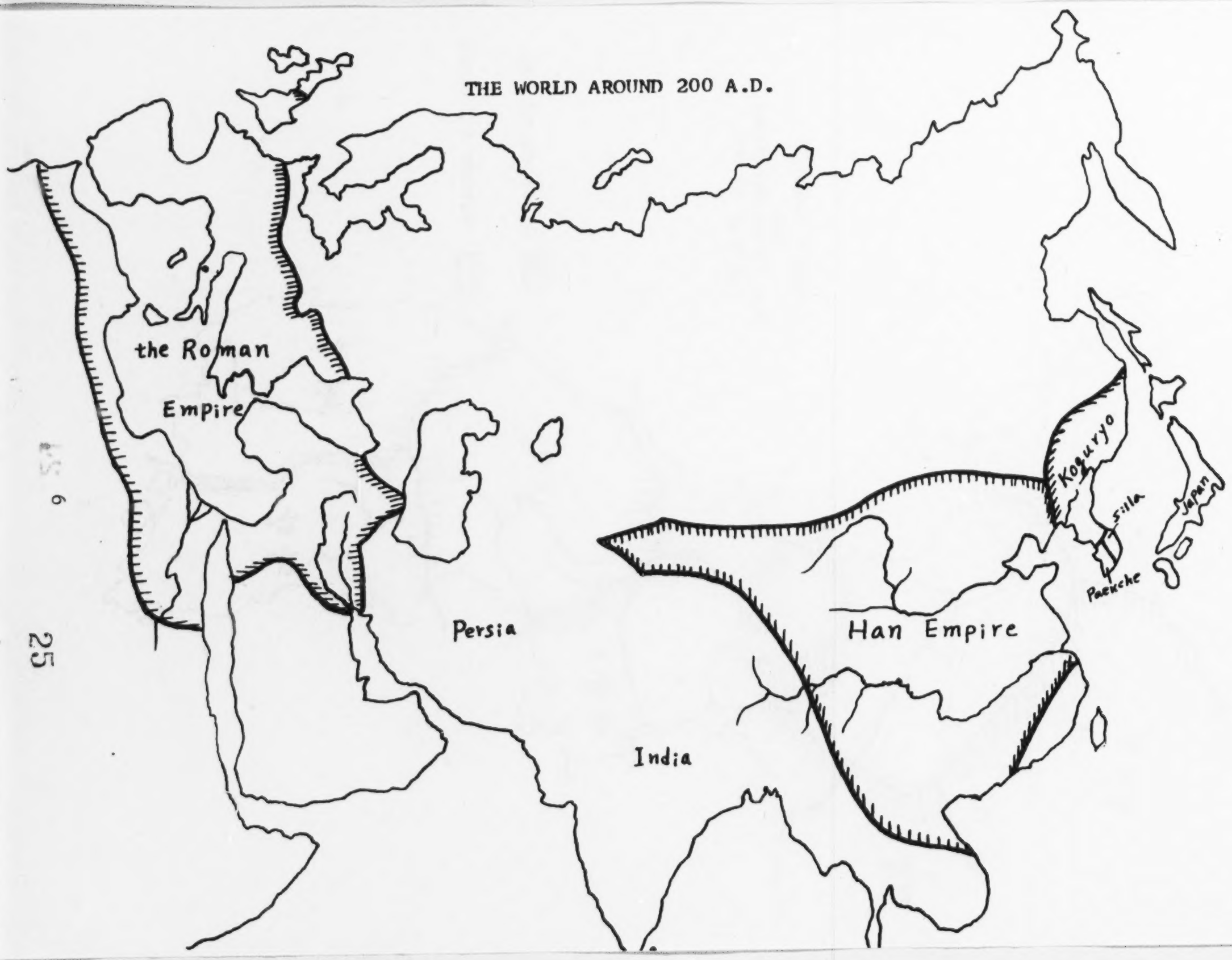
Under the unified rule of Silla, Korea had its first Golden Age. Buddhism, arts, architecture, and literature were at their height. Kyongju, the capital of Silla, was then a brilliant center of art, science, architecture, and literature, and had an academy for the study of literature, astronomy, medicine, Buddhism, Confucianism, and warfare.

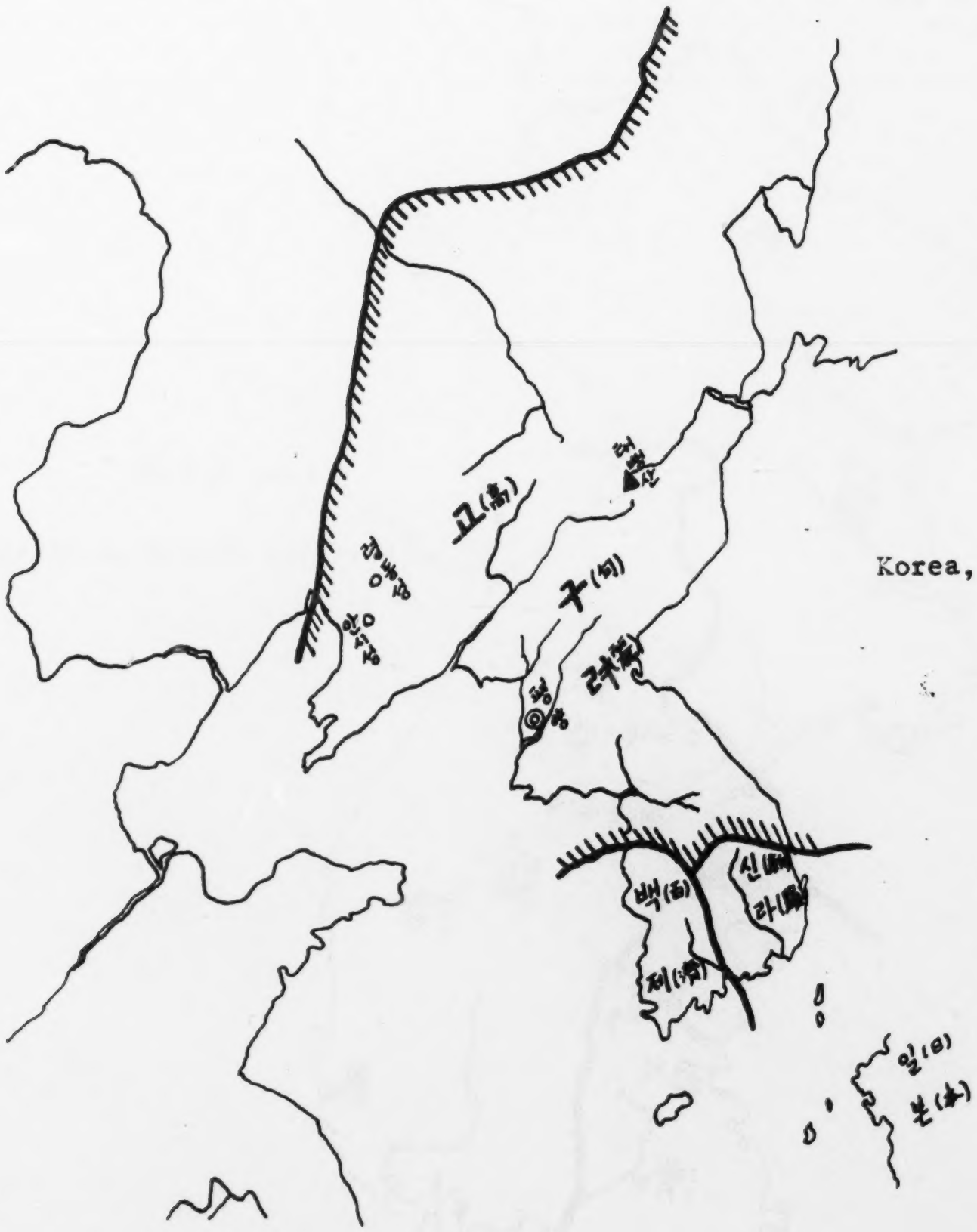
The invention of the Korean syllabary also took place during this period, which gave Korean phonetic value to a limited number of Chinese characters. In its refinement, the culture of Silla was no less brilliant than that of the finest era of China. Even today, we can see glimpses of Silla culture through historic remains of the period such as Pulguksa Temple, Seokkulam Cane, and Ch'eomseongdae Observatory in Kyongju.



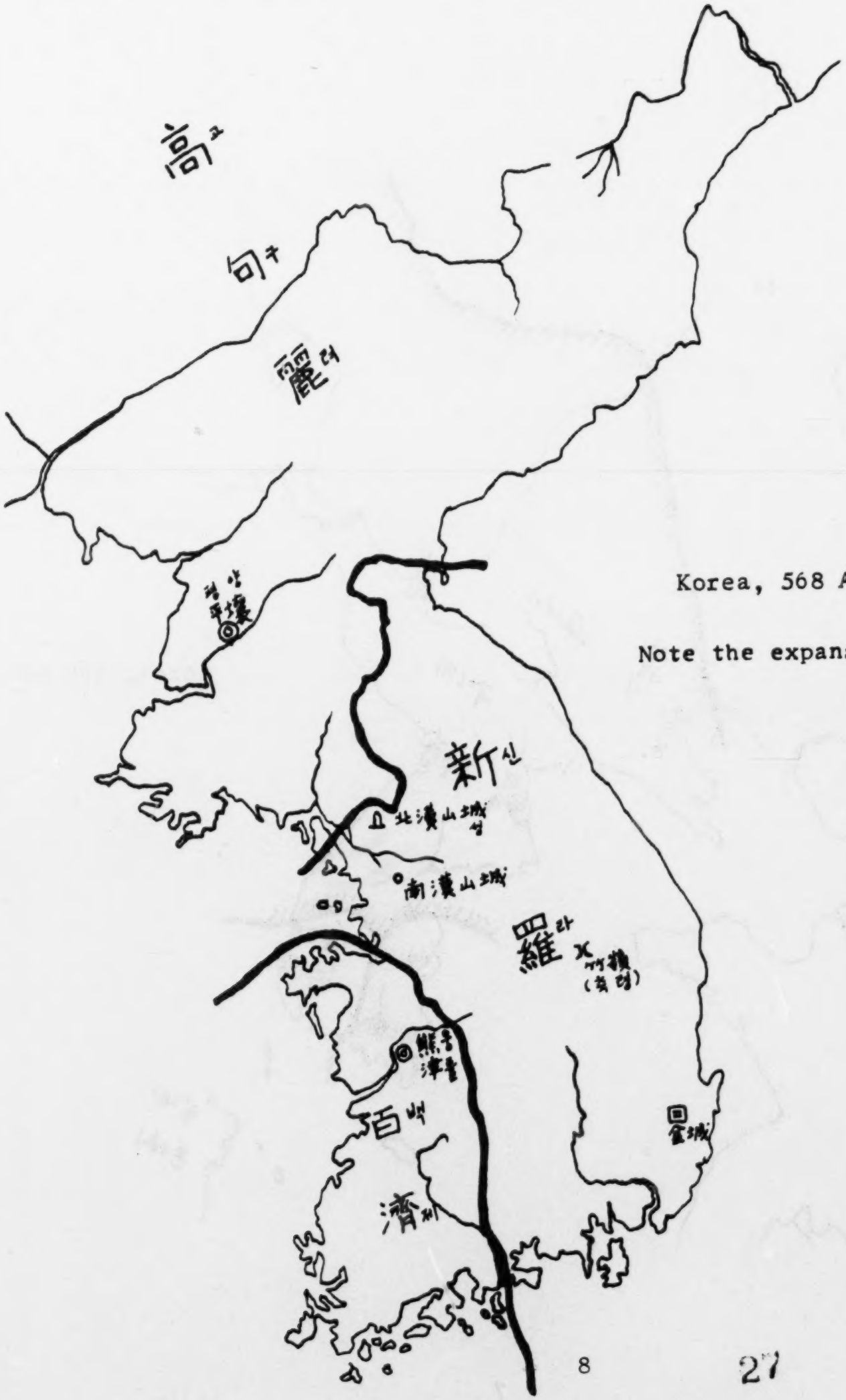
EARLY KOGURYO
and
the THREE KINGDOMS
(around 50 BC)

THE WORLD AROUND 200 A.D.





Korea, 550 AD



Korea, 568 AD

Note the expansion of Silla

While early unified Silla was busy pacifying the people of Paekche and Koguryo in her new domain, a Koguryo general, Tae Choyeong (大 祚 榮), established a kingdom called Palhae (渤 海) in Manchuria in 698 AD. The territory of Palhae was later enlarged to the area of the former Koguryo kingdom except in the Korean peninsula. It lasted until 927 AD.

Koryo (高 麗)

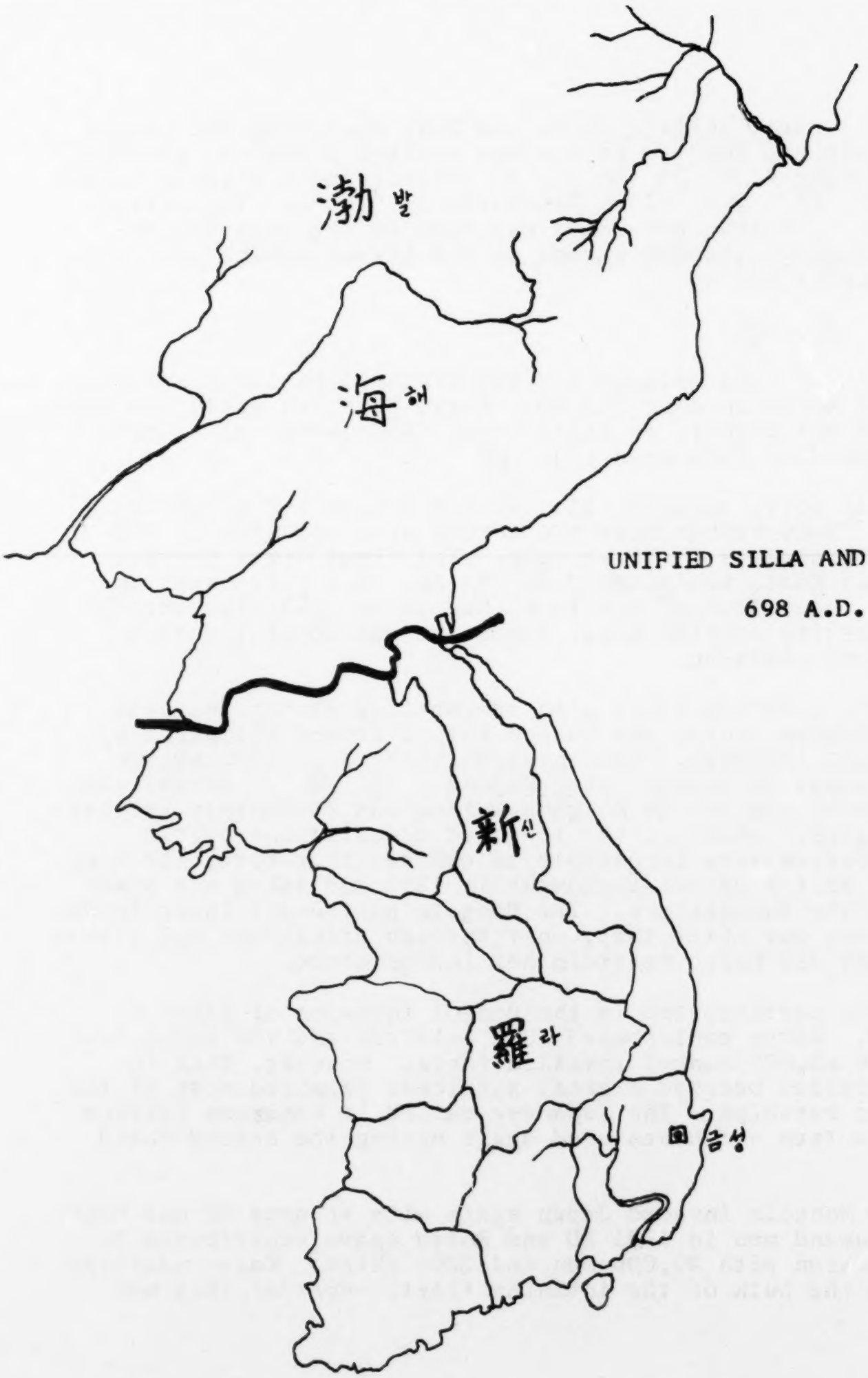
Silla in time decayed and was replaced by the new Korean state of Koryo in June 918 AD. Koryo gave the world the name by which the country is still known (Koryo--Korea). Koryo was founded by Wang Keon (王 建).

Early Koryo enjoyed relative peace with her neighboring states. Many tribes near the border area voluntarily submitted themselves to Koryo rule. The first Civil Service system in Korea was adopted in 958 AD. Any government employee, regardless of his rank, had to be qualified through Civil Service examinations, before he was appointed to a government position.

After relative peace with neighboring states for over two centuries, Koryo was tossed into a stormy situation by the Mongol invaders. The invasion started in 1230 AD and lasted about 30 years. King Kojong (高 宗) established a temporary capital on Kanghwa Island and stubbornly resisted the Mongols. However, the repeated devastations by the Mongol forces were impossible to endure; therefore, the king finally sent a prince to Mongka in 1259 and asked for peace between the two nations. The Mongols pulled out their forces that year, but after that, only through precarious and clever diplomacy did Koryo maintain her independence.

Koryo participated in the Mongol invasion of Japan in 1274 AD. Koryo contributed 5300 soldiers and 900 ships toward the 20,000 Mongol invasion force. However, this invasion failed because a great hurricane capsized most of the invading warships. The Japanese called it Kamikaze (divine wind), a term which was used again during the Second World War.

The Mongols invaded Japan again with an army of one hundred thousand men in 1281 AD and Koryo again contributed to the invasion with 20,000 men and 3500 ships. Koryo warships made up the bulk of the invasion fleet. Most of this was



UNIFIED SILLA AND PALHAE

698 A.D.

wiped out by another hurricane on the Japanese sea coast and only a few soldiers returned home.

Due to the repeated destruction of the country by Mongol forces and the great loss of men and materials in the abortive invasions of Japan, Koryo declined in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Many noteworthy inventions were made during the Koryo period in Korea. Artificial glass tiles were invented in 1277.[1] Celadon porcelains produced during the Koryo period are ranked among the finest in the entire world.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the Koryo dynasty was the engraving and publication of the Triptaka or Buddhist sutra. A group of devoted Buddhists who believed in the power of prayer to Buddha undertook to engrave the best Buddhist scriptures in the world, as a form of prayer to expel the atrocious Mongol invaders. It took 16 years to engrave 80,000 wooden plates. With two sides on each plate, 160,000 pages of the best available texts of scriptures were completed. Today it is preserved intact in Haeinsa Temple in Mount Kaya.

Movable metal type is considered to be one of the three greatest inventions of mankind. According to the written records of the Koryo dynasty, a number of books were printed with movable metal type in 1230. Although a German inventor, Gutenberg, is credited in the West for designing leadcast printing type in 1454, the metal type of Koryo actually preceded it by some 200 years.[2]

Buddhism was the national religion of the Koryo period. It flourished throughout the country and its influence on people in every aspect of their lives was greater during this period than any other time in Korean history. Many of the larger temples owned vast tax-free farmlands and had their own armies. Some temples employed several thousand soldiers. However, such power was the cause of corruption of Buddhism toward the end of the Koryo dynasty, and was one of the main causes of its downfall.

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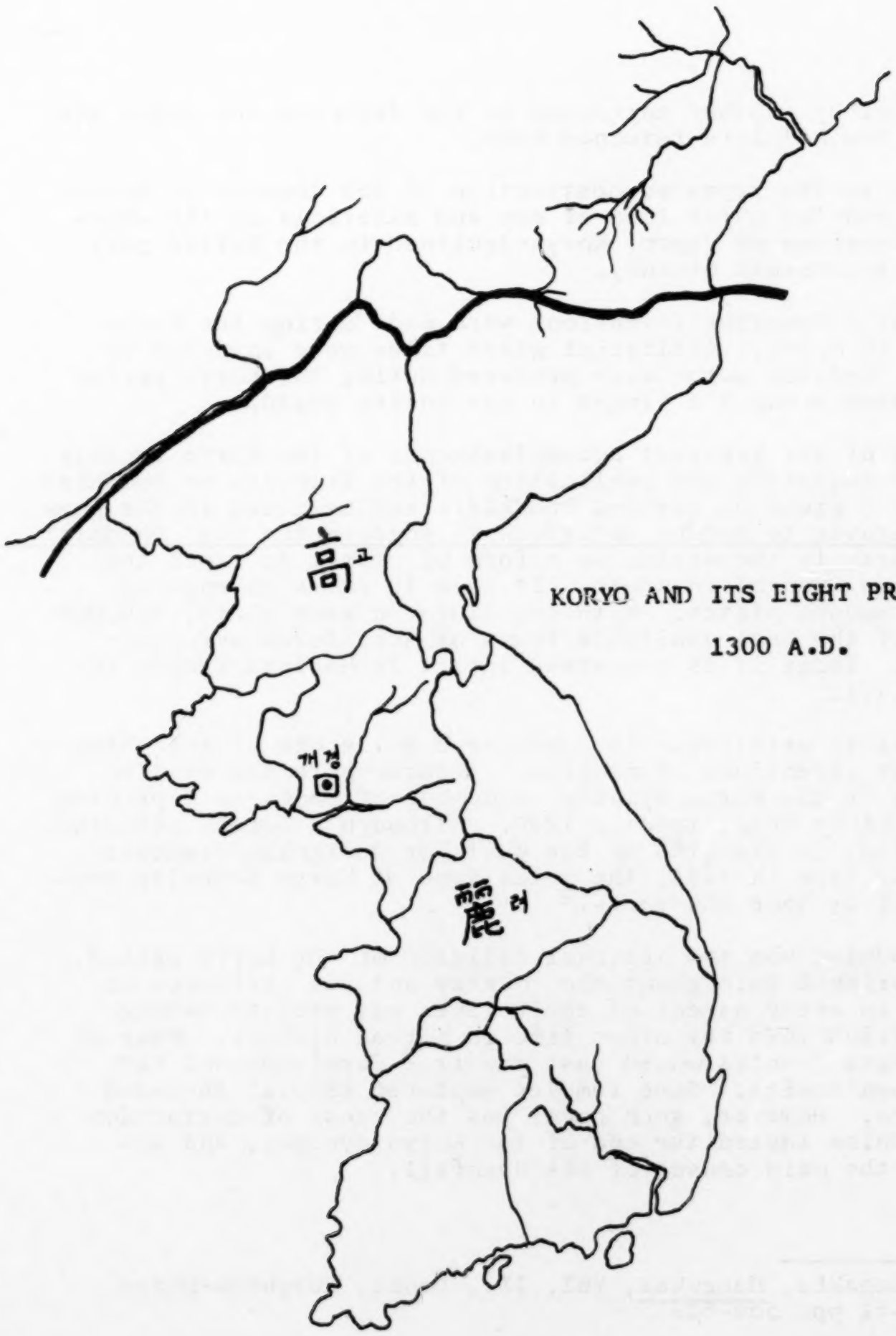
[1]Chindanhakbo, Hanguksa, Vol. II., Seoul, Euryumun-Hwasa, 1959-61 pp. 506-618

[2]Lee, Pyeong To, Kuksa-taekwan, Seoul, Pomunsa, 1958 pp. 310-311



KORYO AND ITS EIGHT PROVINCES

1300 A.D.

(2) Choson (Yi Dynasty)

Choson, also known as the Yi dynasty, replaced Koryo in 1392 AD. A general called Yi Seongge (李成桂) revolted against Koryo and established a new government in Seoul.

The first two centuries of Choson were another golden age of Korea. The early Yi kings promptly introduced many reforms in the social system. Improvement of the living standard of the common people was remarkable. The basic principle of the new dynasty was Confucianism, as Yi monarchs intentionally suppressed Buddhism.

Around 1420, during the early reign of the Yi dynasty, a royal printing shop was established. The dynasty sponsored repeatedly the production of beautifully fashioned movable types made of copper, samples of which are exhibited in the Museum of Natural History in New York City. Many important books were printed with this movable copper type.[3]

The Korean alphabet known as Hangul or Unmun was put to use in October of 1446 AD. The force of tradition however, was so strong that this alphabet was used only for printing popular works, and old Chinese remained as the written language of the court and of all serious literature.

Paper currency was introduced in 1402, which shows that many aspects of culture flourished during this period. The one person most responsible for these developments was King Sejong (世宗大王), the fourth monarch of the Yi dynasty. He was a ruler of stature unequalled throughout Korean history.

While Korea was having a long period of peace, Japan went through a war period (戰國時代) during which many Japanese warlords fought daily battles for their very survival. These conditions lasted for more than a century, until at the end of the 16th century a man named Hideyosi finally defeated all the other warlords in Japan. As there were no more wars to fight in his homeland, Hideyosi decided to attack Korea.

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[3]Korean Pacific Press, 50 Facts on Korea.

Without warning,Hideyosi sent an invasion force of 150,000 men to Korea in 1592. The Japanese forces took Seoul within a month after they landed in Pusan, as Korea was totally unprepared for war after a long period of peace. Japan's initial success was remarkable, but later she suffered numerous setbacks. The greatest Korean accomplishments were Admiral Yi Soon-Sin's resounding naval victories over the Japanese Navy. As a result, the Japanese supply route was completely cut by Admiral Yi who used 'Tortoise Boats,' known to be the world's first ironclad vessels, isolating the Japanese Army from its bases. Admiral Yi's Korean naval forces were also quite successful combating Japanese in Haengju (幸 州) and other places. China (Ming 明) sent about 50,000 men to aid Korea and occupied Pyongyang. The Chinese, however, never challenged the Japanese armies for a decisive battle. The Japanese armies occupied mainly a few large cities in the central and south-eastern parts of Korea. The invading forces suffered great losses, due to harassment by the Korean militia forces. Wide-spread sickness and a shortage of military supplies, especially of food rations, also contributed to the plight of the Japanese army.

Japan finally withdrew her forces in 1598. The warfare against the invading Japanese lasted six years. This invasion left ill effects upon Korea from which she could not recover for centuries. Many cities were left in ruins and thousands of artisans and craftsmen were taken to Japan.

While Korea was still weak from the after-effects of the Japanese invasion, the Manchus invaded Korea in 1627 and again in 1636. The Manchus, who later conquered all of China in 1661 and established the Ching (清) dynasty, claimed suzerainty also over Korea. They, however, never gained effective control of the country and were rulers in name only.

In addition to foreign invasions, a power struggle among several political factions contributed greatly to the gradual decline of the Yi dynasty. From the early 18th century to the end of the 19th century, politicians did very little for the welfare of the country and the people. They were too busy with continuous power struggles and plots.

In the XVIIth century, Korea adopted a closed-door policy which earned her the name of 'Hermit Kingdom.' The country was reopened by the Western Powers only at the end of the 19th century.

In the modern history of Korea, four nations played dominant roles: China which had claimed suzerainty over the peninsula for centuries; Japan, long the most bitter enemy of independent Korea; Russia which by her Asiatic expansion became a neighbor of Korea in 1860; and the United States whose open door policy appeared to promise freedom from imperialism and provide opportunity for Korea to develop as an independent nation within the new world order.

The political paternalism which bound Korea to Ching, a Manchu dynasty of China, did not interfere with the internal policies of the former. It was an ideal arrangement during Korea's period of isolation, but with her emergence from this status, other powers wished to deal with Korea as an independent country. The ties with the old suzerain were too loose and China was in no position to effectively oppose her more vigorous rivals.

After the Maeji reform, which took place in 1868, Japan rapidly began to adopt Western civilization, including the use of modern weaponry and an effective military system. Her military power grew quite rapidly, and she was able to defeat China in 1896. By 1899, following the Sino-Japanese War, China recognized Korea as a fully independent, sovereign state

The United States became interested in Korea as early as the 1830's. She was the first Western nation to acknowledge Korean independence. The Treaty of Amity and Trade between Korea and the United States was concluded in 1882. This was the first treaty Korea ever concluded with any Western nation.

Japanese arrogance toward Korea following the Sino-Japanese War gave the Russians an opportunity to consolidate their position in Korea by opposing the recent victor. During the following several years, Russia received from the Korean government many economic and commercial concessions which encroached upon previous Japanese gains. Finally Russia engaged in a war with Japan in 1905, and her defeat ended Russian influence in the peninsula for almost forty years, until the end of the Second World War.

With complete annexation as her goal, Japan assumed a protectorate over Korea immediately following her victory over Russia. While bitterly contested by the Koreans, the Japanese thoroughly consolidated their position during the following five years. Although treaty obligations required that the United States assist Korea, the United States was

unwilling to commit herself fully to Korean affairs, as she was busy developing her own West and also was preoccupied with the problems created by the Spanish-American War. On August 22, 1910, Japan forced Korea to become a part of the Japanese Empire. For the first time in her history, Korea lost her identity as a nation.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

	KOREA	WEST
2500 BC	Founding of Korea by Tangun 2333 BC	The Pyramids built in Egypt
2000 BC	Kija Chosen, 1122 BC	Trojan War, stage in Greek conquest of Aegean civilization, 1170 BC
1000 BC		
500 BC		Battle of Marathon: Athens victorious over Persia; dawn of Athenian Golden Age 490 BC
		Death of Alexander the Great; beginning of Hellenistic epoch 323 BC
250 BC		
	Wiman Chosen, 194 BC	Destruction of Carthage by Romans; Third Punic War 149-146 BC
	Establishment of Chinese Han provinces in the northern part of Korea, 108 BC	Power struggle of Marius and Sulla in Rome 100 BC
	Three Han kingdoms in the southern part of Korea, 108 BC	Death of Julius Caesar, 44 BC
	Koguryo 56 BC Paekche 18 BC Silla 37 BC	Augustus as Roman emperor; beginning of Pax Romana 27 BC

	KOREA	WEST
500 AD		Crucifixion of Christ, 29 AD
	Destruction of Chinese Forces (Young Ti) by General Ul-chi Mun-Dok of Koguryo. 612 AD	Hegira of Mohammed: year 1 of Moslem calendar 622 AD
	Unification of Korea by Silla. 668 AD	
	A Koguryo general establishes Palhae kingdom in Manchuria 698 AD	Unsuccessful Arab seige of Byzantium; high-water mark of Moslem expansion toward eastern Europe 717 AD
	Silla replaced by Koryo 918 AD	Otto the Great of Germany crowned emperor of the 'Holy Roman Empire' 962 AD
1000 AD		
	Mongol invasion of Korea 1230 AD	Death of Genghiz Khan, great Tartar conqueror 1227 AD
	Invention of movable metal type 1230 AD	Dante and Giotto: dawn of Renaissance 1300 AD
	Koryo participates in Mongol invasion of Japan 1274 AD	Philip IV of France against Pope Boniface VIII: prelude to 'Babylonian Captivity' of papacy 1303 AD
	Establishment of Yi dynasty 1392 AD	

	KOREA	WEST
	Movable metal type used to print great number of books 1420 AD	Burning of John Hus, Czech forerunner of Protestantism 1415 AD
	Invention of Hangul, the Korean alphabet 1446 AD	Gutenberg's Bible: the first movable type in Europe 1454 AD
1500 AD		
	Japanese invasion of Korea 1592 AD	
	Invention of the world's first iron-clad vessel 1592 AD	
	Total destruction of the Japanese fleet 1592-1593 AD	Founding of Jamestown, Virginia: first of the 13 English colonies in North America 1607 AD
	Sino-Japanese War in Korea 1895 AD	Spanish-American War 1898 AD
	Russo-Japanese War in Korea & Manchuria 1904-1905 AD	Canal Treaty with Panama by the United States 1903
	Japanese annexation of Korea 1910 AD	

b. Modern Korea

(1) The Annexation of Korea by Japan.

Japan, which opened her gates to the western countries and modernized her political and military system roughly three decades earlier than Korea, wanted Korea as a colony for the settlement of her growing population. She also needed Korea as a staging area for her conquest of Manchuria. This ambitious dream was to be realized through gradual steps.

In the meantime, China, claiming sovereignty over Korea, expressed her dislike of the Japanese attitude toward Korea whenever an occasion to do so arose. When in June 1894 a revolt led by Tonghak developed into a civil war, the Korean government asked China for help. As a response, Chinese troops arrived in Korea to help the government forces repel the rebels. Japan, insisting that China had broken an agreement between them which prohibited either country sending troops to Korea without the other's consent, also sent troops to Korea. Thus, the Sino-Japanese War started in August 1894. Japan triumphed both on land and on sea. The peace conference was held at Shimonoseki, Japan in April 1895 at the request of China. At this conference, China recognized the independence of Korea and ceded the Liao-tung Peninsula and Formosa to Japan. However, Japan returned the Liao-tung Peninsula to China under pressure from Russia, France, and Germany.[1]

Soon Russia extended a friendly hand towards China. The two countries concluded a secret treaty in which they declared Japan a common enemy, and China promised Russia aid in the event of a war. Russia, however, by then was not satisfied with her gains in Manchuria, and wanted to extend her influence also to Korea. What did Japan do about this? She did not want any open conflict at this particular time. Japan sought a peaceful way to meet the situation. She tried to convince Russia that she was ready to recognize the special concessions Russia had gained in Manchuria, and, in return, wanted Russia to acquiesce in Japan's control over Korea. In the meantime, Japan was lucky enough to have found a new and reliable friend in Great Britain. Great Britain, which had not been friendly with Russia for some time, concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan. Under this

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[1]Lee, Pyong, Kuksa Taigwan, (Outline of Korean History), Seoul, Tontisa, 1950, p. 507

treaty both countries agreed that in case one of them became involved in a war, the other country would maintain neutrality, and should one of the two signatories be fighting against more than one enemy, the other would be obligated to assist the former. The relations meanwhile worsened between Russia and Japan and in February 1904, the Russo-Japanese War broke out. Japan won the war, and in the peace treaty signed at Portsmouth, U.S.A. Russia acknowledged Japan's paramount interest in Korea.

Japan now forced Korea to conclude a treaty (1905) which gave Japan virtual control over the country. The treaty consisted of five articles. The first two articles dealt with the measure of control. The third article established the office of a Japanese Resident-General in Seoul who had under his control all diplomatic affairs of Korea. The Resident-General had the right to interview the Korean King at will. On December 20, Hasekawa was appointed Acting Resident-General, and in March 1906 Ito as the first Resident-General.

The entire nation showed discontent with the treaty. Several high ranking government officials committed suicide as a protest. King Kojong did everything in his power to prevent an increase in Japan's influence, even though it was obviously too late by then. The Japanese knew that so long as Kojong remained king he would oppose their ambitious goal: the annexation of Korea. So, Japan forced King Kojong to abdicate in favor of his son. His son ascended the throne in 1907 and was called Sunjong.

Under these circumstances, the Japanese occupation of Korea was inevitable. It was only a matter of time. On August 22, 1910, the official annexation treaty was signed between Wanyong Lee, Premier of Korea, and Terauchi, Resident-General of Japan. With this Korea ceased to exist as an independent state.

The Korean Independence Movement.

After Japan's annexation of Korea, Korean patriots and their followers immediately began to work for the restoration of Korean independence. The March First Movement was the most outstanding attempt of these patriots. This movement started in Seoul by proclaiming the Declaration of Independence at noon of March 1, 1919. The declaration was signed by thirty-three people, most of whom were religious leaders.

There were 16 Christian leaders, 15 leaders of Chondogyo,[2] and two Buddhists. Even though these 33 signatories were known as religious leaders, all of them were strongly politically-minded and overflowing with patriotism, as were most of their followers. Inasmuch as no political parties or groups of any form were allowed in Korea at that time, there was a strong tendency for the religious leaders to try to assume political functions.

The March First Movement was encouraged by the idea of the self-determination of the peoples under foreign domination.. This idea was advanced by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in 1918. Wilson came up with a classic formulation of Allied war aims, and the armistice of November 1918 was negotiated on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points. In it the idea of self-determination was also included. Most people under foreign domination were greatly encouraged by this idea, and Korea was no exception. President Wilson's proposal fanned the undying desire of the Korean people for full independence and gave them a moral boost.

The movement was also given impetus by the tragic death of King Kojong. Even though Kojong abdicated in favor of his son in 1907, he remained the center of resistance to Japan. As a result, "the Japanese arranged for his assassination by poisoning, on January 22, 1919."[3] The murder of the deposed king produced a great impact on national sentiment; the entire Korean population was ready to rise up against Japanese domination.

There was a mass gathering of the people at the funeral. It had been a long-standing tradition for the rural people to gather in Seoul to participate in the mourning of their beloved king. They believed that it was part of their duty as loyal subjects. It was quite logical to assume that the national funeral service for King Kojong would draw a record crowd.

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[2]Chondogyo is a Korean religion created by Chewoo Choi in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[3]Hagwonsa, Korean Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, Seoul, Hagwonsa, 1962 p. 825

The March First Movement spread quickly throughout the entire nation. It started with students and soon included people from all walks of life, old and young, men and women. Koreans in Japan, China, and in other countries also became involved. Non-violence was the most outstanding characteristic of this movement. The Declaration of Independence, the official document of this movement, made it very clear that the movement was non-violent in nature. Lee notes:

> Our urgent need today is the setting up of this house of ours, and not a discussion of who has broken it down, or of what has caused its ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.[4]

And yet, there was a calm but strong request to the Japanese authorities that "since the Korean population does not obey Japanese policies and has no intention of tolerating Japanese control, the sovereignty of Korea ought to be returned to Korea."[5]

The Koreans desired their independence through pacific means. With this they hoped to draw international attention, if not support. Unfortunately, Japanese control over Korea was so tight that there was hardly any chance for international support, or even sympathies. Japan, on the other hand, made every possible effort to crush the movement with all available means, despite the fact that the movement was non-violent and passive in nature. Out of 2,023,000 persons who participated in 1,542 different gatherings of demonstrations, 70,509 were killed, while 15,961 others were injured and wounded; 46,948 were arrested and most of them were tortured. Furthermore, Japanese police and soldiers burned 47 churches and 715 residential homes.

Even though this movement did not bring any tangible results in the actual political area, it served notice on the world that the Korean people were ready to sacrifice their lives for their independence and that Japanese domination was extremely cruel. The movement made the world aware

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[4]Pyonghon Lee, Samilundong-pisa (The Secret History of the March First Movement) Sisasibansa, 1959, p. 70

[5]Pyongdo Lee, Op. Cit., p. 536

[6]Korean Encyclopedia, Op. Cit., Vol. 3, p. 825.

of the fact that until the Korean problem was solved, the peace of the Far East or the world could not be achieved. After the March First Movement, no big scale independence movement as such took place. However, the undying desire for independence never ceased until August 15, 1948, when the new government of the Republic of Korea was officially proclaimed.

(2) The Liberation of Korea.

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese Emperor broadcast unconditional surrender of the Japanese Forces to the Allied Forces. Therewith formal Japanese domination over Korea practically came to an end. Korea was free. However, the Japanese surrender left Korea divided along the 38th parallel into two zones occupied by American and Russian armed forces respectively. On September 7, 1945, the U. S. Forces landed at Inchon, and two days later, the U. S. Military Government in South Korea began functioning under the leadership of Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge. The U. S. Military Government lasted until August 15, 1948, when the new government of the Republic of Korea was officially proclaimed.

The Division of the Land

U.S. President Harry S. Truman, Britain's Winston Churchill, and Marshall Stalin, the Soviet leader, reaffirmed Korean independence in the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, with China later subscribing. Among the terms laid down for the unconditional surrender of Japan was the demand that the enemy surrender all its colonial territories and possessions.

On August 8, 1945, one week before the termination of hostilities, Soviet armed forces marched into North Korea. On September 2, after the Japanese surrender, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces announced that the United States and Russia would share in the occupation of Korea. Soviet troops would accept the Japanese surrender north of the 38th parallel, and the American troops south of it. The line of demarcation was intended to be temporary and only fix responsibility between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. for carrying out the Japanese surrender. Nevertheless, the temporary line (now, demarcation line) still stands today like a stone wall against the unification of Korea. This division of Korea into two separate areas of military occupation planted the seeds which were to bring so much grief to the Korean people.[7]

[7] Hagwon-sa, comp. Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, Seoul, 1960 pp. 99-100.

Establishment of the Two Korean Republics

Independence for Korea was decided upon at the Cairo Conference of December 1943, by the leaders of the three Allied Powers prosecuting the war against Japan: President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain, and China's Generalissimo Chang Kai-shek. After the conference, which was held primarily to discuss the military means to bring about Japan's downfall, the Allied leaders resolved that "the aforesaid three great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."[8]

However, "in due course" did not come about as soon as expected. In order to overcome the highly damaging consequences of the continued division of the country, and to specify definite plans for the future of Korea, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, in their meeting at Moscow in December, 1945, concluded an agreement in which they were later joined by China. This agreement came to be accepted as the basic document governing the future development of an independent Korean state. It provided for the convening of a Joint American-Soviet Commission, representing the two commands in Korea, whose primary duty was to assist in the formation of a provisional democratic government through consultation with "Korean democratic parties and social organizations" as the first step in assuring the establishment of an independent and sovereign Korean Nation.[9]

Subsequently, the representatives of the U.S. and Soviet occupation authorities in Korea set up the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission. The Commission held two series of conferences, beginning in January, 1946, to work out a solution to the problem of unifying Korea. However, long before the breakup of these talks, it was clear that the continued occupation of the land by the two opposing military forces had reached a state where unification was far beyond the powers of the Joint Commission. The Joint Commission proved powerless after conferences were deadlocked for the second time on July 10, 1947. The U. S. Government then took the Korean issue to the United Nations General Assembly, advocating

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[8] Ibid.

[9] George M. McCune, Korea Today, Harvard Univ. Press, 1950 p. 61

immediate independence. The U.N. Assembly adopted a resolution in support of the U.S. motion on November 13, and sent a Temporary Commission to Korea in January, 1948.[10]

On May 19, 1948, South Korea held her first election under U.N. supervision and subsequently proclaimed the Constitution of the Republic of Korea on July 17 of the same year. On July 20, Syngman Rhee was elected as the first President of the ROK by the National Assembly. On August 15, the new government of the Republic of Korea was officially proclaimed and the U. S. Military Administration terminated.

In the north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in September, 1948, headed by Premier Kim Il Sung after election of delegates to a Supreme People's Congress in July. The Soviet Union had rejected the validity of the U.S. action in transferring the Korean question from the Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission to the U.N. General Assembly and consequently, barred the U.N. Temporary Commission's presence in the northern zone.

In December, 1948, the U. N. General Assembly recognized the Republic of Korea government as "the only legal government in Korea." Subsequently, on June 30, 1949, the U.S. Armed Forces withdrew from South Korea, leaving behind a 500-man Korean Military Advisory Group attached to the Korean Army and Navy. A mutual defense treaty was signed between the Republic of Korea and the U.S. in January, 1950.[11]

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[10] Hagwon-Sa, Op. Cit., p. 100

[11] Ibid, pp. 100-101.

c. The Korean Conflict (1950-53)

(1) The War

The horror of modern war struck Korea 25 June 1950 at dawn. Today the Korean war is classified as a limited war, even though it was a total war to Koreans. Thousands of Koreans died, the country was torn asunder, and the cities endured bombing and artillery fire equal to the worst of World War II. The war cost the United States an estimated 140,000 casualties and 20 billion dollars. About 34,000 Americans died in the Korean War. An estimated total of 1,820,000 were killed or maimed. Of this count, the Communists suffered about 1,420,000. The Defense Department estimates state the Chinese Communists suffered about 900,000 dead or wounded and North Korea 520,000. Of UN losses, 150,000 were dead and 250,000 wounded. In the Republic of Korea, 3,700,000 were made refugees and 400,000 of these fled from North Korea.

On 25 June 1950, when the North Korean Army invaded the ROK the response of the Free World was immediate. In a series of Security Council resolutions, dated 25 and 27 June and 7 July, the United Nations condemned the North Korean aggression, called upon UN members to come to the aid of the ROK, and designated the United States the executive agent to unify, direct and coordinate the UN effort. Although the ROK was not a UN member, twenty-two nations came to the aid of the ROK, two of which were not members of the United Nations.

At dawn, 25 June 1950, six reinforced divisions of the North Korean People's Army came driving down the historic invasion route to Seoul. Supported by ample artillery, spearheaded by 100 Russian built T34 tanks, receiving tactical air support by 100 Russian planes, the invaders took Seoul in three days. On 30 June, President Truman authorized General MacArthur to use American ground forces. Immediate relocation from Japan to the ROK of Maj. Gen. William F. Dean's 24th Infantry Division began. After the UN requested an American Commander-in-Chief, President Truman quickly appointed General MacArthur to the position. Henceforth the attempt to resist the Communist invasion became a United Nations operation. While the Navy blockaded the peninsula, expansion of port facilities began at Pusan. The men of the 24th Division fought a series of delaying actions. For three days, Dean and his tired men fought in the streets and alleys of Taejon,

contesting every inch. Said Brigadier General Marshall: "To my mind, there is no doubt of the critical and decisive nature of Dean's holding action outside Taejon... If the Communists had a clear right of way to Pusan, the war would have ended right there. There is no doubt that it was one of the pivotal points of the war."[1]

Inchon

On 15 September the electrifying news struck. MacArthur's troops had landed at Inchon, 150 miles behind the enemy lines. Despite grave risks of a great tide variation and a narrow channel, MacArthur selected 15 September as the earliest possible date for the most suitable tides. Said General MacArthur: "The history of war proves that nine out of ten times an army has been destroyed because its supply lines have been cut off. We shall land at Inchon, and I shall crush the North Koreans."[2] At dawn, a reinforced battalion of the 1st Marine Division landed and captured Wolmido Island. At the next high tide, other elements of the Marine division attacked Inchon against light resistance, took it, and moved north. Kimpo airfield fell the following day. The 7th Infantry Division came ashore 18 September to handle the southern front. The assault had been the signal for the Eighth Army to crack the Pusan perimeter. Enemy defenses crumbled. Elements of the 1st Cavalry Division sped more than 100 miles to link up with the troops of the 7th Infantry Division. The Red retreat became a rout. On 25 September, X Corps units liberated Seoul. Three days later, MacArthur restored the city to President Syngman Rhee. On the same day, the 24th Division took Taejon. Meanwhile, the general advance swept across the 38th parallel. By 21 October, Pyongyang was overrun after airborne troops dropped behind the city rendering it indefensible. ROK divisions probed deep into North Korea, the 6th ROK Division reaching the Yalu River at Chosan. Approximately 135,000 prisoners had been captured since the Inchon landing a month earlier. By the end of October the remainder of the North Korean Army had been forced into the northwestern part of Korea. Some elements of the 7th Division had reached the Yalu river.

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[1]Information Office, U. S. Forces in Korea, Korea, Freedom's Frontier, p. 29.

[2]Roy E. Applemen, U.S. Army in the Korean War, 1961 p. 488.

The Chinese Enter the War.

Enemy resistance stiffened as they approached the Yalu. Determined attacks were made against the ROK division on the Eighth Army's right flank, causing Walker to pull back from the Yalu salient and stabilize his line. The prohibition against bombing Manchuria imposed enormous handicaps to effective bombing. The enemy, therefore, concentrated his antiaircraft weapons to cover the east-west bombing approaches and by 1 November Russian-built MIG-15 jets made their first appearance. At this time the US Air Force, in its first combat role as a separate service, introduced its new North American F-86 Sabre jet to combat the Communist's MIG-15. During the first six months of the war, Air Force B-26 and B-29's had killed one-third of the original North Korean invasion force, destroyed one-half of North Korea's hydroelectric plant system, had the enemy's railroad system running at 25% of its prewar capacity, and slowed North Korean industry virtually to a standstill.

The Eighth Army offensive, Yalu bound, opened 24 November. Three corps advanced against light opposition until the night of 26 November. They then met the full force of the massive Chinese offensive, were halted and thrown back. The main blow fell on the right flank, and severed contact between Eighth Army and X Corps in the rugged central terrain of Korea. On the Eighth Army front, 18 Chinese divisions hit, the main effort directed at the eastern flank. The defeat of the ROK division in that sector necessitated their withdrawal because of the threat of envelopment. The 1st Cavalry, the Turkish Brigade, and the British commonwealth 27th Brigade, together with the 2nd Division, withdrew to the Chongchon River, 85 miles south of the Yalu. The withdrawal continued with no hope of stabilizing a line north of Pyongyang.

The heaviest enemy blow on the extended X Corps front was directed at the Changjin reservoir area, defended by the 1st Marine Division. In spite of the intense and close air support, fighting took a heavy toll. After severe losses, they withdrew in succession to establish a new line further south. After mid-December an increasing number of North Korean units were sighted by ROK patrols along the 38th Parallel. At the end of the year, there was every indication of an impending large-scale enemy attack. On 23 December General Walker was killed in a traffic accident north of Seoul. Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgeway succeeded as

commander of the Eighth Army. General Ridgeway's forces now included contingents of eleven nations. At this time, enemy combat forces in Korea were estimated to exceed 400,000 including 250,000 Chinese. Estimates of the total Chinese forces in Manchuria and Korea were about 740,000 - more than three times the strength of the UN forces.

The Second Invasion of South Korea.

Following softening probes along the eastern front, on the last day of December, the Chinese moved quickly down the same invasion routes. On 4 January, Seoul changed hands for the third time as UN units took up defensive positions south of the Han River. Continued Red success in the east soon rendered this position indefensible. As Red supply lines lengthened, western patrols were able to find only limited Red strength on the western front. Ridgeway then launched a limited-objective counter-attack. By 10 February, Inchon and Kimpo airfields were retaken. Resistance steadily increased and on 11 February, a major counterattack was launched by the Communists. By 25 February, the initiative returned to UN hands and the Communists fell back. By 11 April, UN forces were again in North Korea moving northward in the Chorwon area, about 60 miles northeast of Seoul, on the eastern base of the Iron Triangle. On 11 April, General MacArthur was relieved of his command, General Ridgeway taking his place. Lt. Gen. James Van Fleet was sent from the United States to head the Eighth Army. A new Communist offensive was launched with the aim of the envelopment of Seoul. The attack smashed the ROK 6th Division leaving a gap between I Corps and X Corps. Enemy troops including Mongolian horse cavalry, tried to exploit the penetration. By slowly giving ground, the Americans limited the rollback of the flanks. By the end of April, the offensive was stopped just south of the 38th Parallel.

The second spring offensive began 15 May with 21 Red divisions committed along a 75 mile front. By 22 May the enemy offensive came to an end as exhaustion, heavy casualties, and supply difficulties forced the enemy to admit failure. By the second week in June, the Eighth Army retook the ground it had lost. The enemy continued to withdraw beyond the positions from which their spring offensive had been mounted. The Communists now realized they lacked the power to defeat the Eighth Army and the most they could hope for was a stalemate. However, the enemy gave no indication of relinquishing his position despite costly defeats and loss of ground. Prisoners reported another attempt to drive the

UN from Korea was being planned. During the long period of truce negotiations, no major ground offensive was launched by either side. The most important allied gain was made in October 1951 with the occupation of the enemy's punchbowl area. Attacks with limited objectives characterized the fighting during negotiations. Battles raged over key terrain features such as Old Baldy, Heartbreak Ridge, Bloody Nose Ridge, Pork Chop Hill and the Punchbowl. General Maxwell D. Taylor assumed command of the Eighth Army in February. Sick and wounded prisoners were exchanged late in April. Firing ceased on 27 July 1953. The Land of the Morning Calm, still divided, settled into an uneasy truce which still continues.

(2) The Armistice

After one year of bitter fighting, the Eighth Army had fought its way 65 miles northeast of Seoul and occupied Chorwon and Kumhwa in North Korea. An armored task force had battled its way into the streets of Pyongyang, and then 15 miles farther to the north. The enemy was in retreat. To gain respite, the Communists turned to politics. On 24 June, Jacob Malik, Soviet ambassador to the UN, advocated a cease-fire during a broadcast of a UN radio program and recommended opposing forces base a truce line on the 38th Parallel. On 30 June, General Matthew B. Ridgeway, Commander-in-Chief, radioed Communist forces in North Korea that he had been informed they proposed meeting aboard a neutral Danish hospital ship anchored in the Red controlled waters of Wonsan harbor. On 1 July, the arrogant Communists replied: "If you desire a truce, come to Kaesong and we'll talk." We agreed, submitting to Communist demands that the meeting be held in the Red-controlled Kaesong. They then branded the UNC as petitioners and themselves as the hosts. We demanded talks be moved to Panmunjom. Here the Communists balked at exchanging prisoners of war, refused to allow the International Red Cross to visit North Korean prison camps, rejected UN proposals that UN-Communist investigation teams be allowed to travel freely throughout Korea and refused to agree on aerial observation. During the truce talks our negotiators became familiar with the Communist skill at circumlocution, stony indifference to logic, repetition of impossible demands, wild accusations, use of incidents and distortion of truth. General Ridgeway said: "It is a very difficult thing for a man of integrity and principles to have to deal day after day with men who see little relationship between the spoken word and fact - who resort to

intemperate language and deliberately employ known falsehoods as part of their tactics."[3] Lieutenant General Harrison was even more blunt: "The most important thing in dealing with a Communist is to remember - and never forget - that you are dealing with a common criminal."[4]

The Terms

After agreement was finally reached on 27 July 1953, the longest armistice negotiations in recorded history--255 meetings spread over 2 years and 17 days - came to an end. Certain features of the armistice are unique. It directly binds only the military forces of North Korea, the Communist Chinese Volunteers and the sixteen fighting members of the UNC in Korea. Though the Republic of Korea maintains strict compliance with the agreement, it chose to participate in the truce talks only as an observer. Primarily a military agreement, the Armistice Agreement involved call a political conference within 90 days to discuss the unification of Korea and the removal of all foreign troops. At the Big Four Conference in Berlin, the Communists parried, stalled, and agreed only that a further conference should be held at Geneva, Switzerland. There, in April of 1954, the Communist disregard for truth and reason produced the same negative result as the post World War II US-Russia discussion on the question of uniting Korea. The major terms of the Korean Armistice Agreement were to:

a. Cease hostilities.

b. Establish a Military Demarcation Line and Demilitarized Zone.

c. Withdraw military forces, supplies, equipment from the Demilitarized Zone.

d. Cease introduction of reinforcing military personnel and combat material.

e. Establish a Military Armistice Commission and supporting agencies.

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[3]Information Office, U. S. Forces in Korea, Korea, Freedom's Frontier Op. Cit., p. 19.

[4]Ibid., p. 20.

f. Supervise implementation of the Armistice Agreement and negotiate violations.

g. Establish a Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

h. Release and repatriate prisoners of war and displaced civilians.

i. Recommend a political conference.

Armistice Violations

The Armistice Agreement states: "The general mission of the Military Armistice Commission shall be to supervise the implementation of the Armistice Agreement and to settle through negotiation any violations of this Armistice Agreement." MAC consists of 10 representatives, each side appointing five members. On the UNC MAC side, the position of spokesman is occupied by a General or Flag officer, rotated each six months among the three US military services. Liaison officers from UNC combatant countries support the senior member. Other agencies assisting the MAC in supervision of the armistice are the Secretariat, the Joint Observer Teams, and the Joint Duty Officers. The Secretariat performs record keeping and translator-interpreter tasks. Five Joint Observer teams, each consisting of three military representatives from each side, investigate violations occurring in DMZ. The Joint Duty Officers, one from each side, remain in the conference area at Panmunjom and maintain 24 hour contact between the UNC and the North Korean representatives. The truce, a pause in hostilities, is not to be confused with a formal peace treaty entered into by governments. When a Communist sergeant spat in the face of an American MP, with witnesses from both sides present, the Communists not only denied the accusation but accused the US soldier of the act. This is typical. Major violations have altered negotiations somewhat. In the Armistice Agreement both sides agreed to limit the introduction of men and equipment on a one-for-one, piece-for-piece basis. While the UNC abided by this provision, the Communists boasted of violating it. The UNC reported on a daily basis all incoming and outgoing personnel and equipment, but the Communists took months for their first report. It read: "Total incoming material: one antiaircraft gun." Meanwhile the Communists clandestinely constructed new airfields, brought in a large fleet of jet combat aircraft and continued to stockpile supplies.

Enforcement of the Armistice

Following the truce talks and as authorized in the Armistice Agreement, a four nation Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission was established to supervise the ban on reinforcements by observations and inspection in northern and southern Korea. Two nations, Sweden and Switzerland, were nominated by the UNC; the two others, Poland and Czechoslovakia, by the Communists. The Communists blocked any real investigations in northern Korea. The neutral nations were frustrated at every turn in their efforts to conduct inspections in northern Korea. As a result, no real inspections were conducted there. In the Republic of Korea, inspection team members moved around freely observing and investigating the rotation of UNC personnel and the exchange of equipment on a piece-for-piece, item-for-item basis. Finally, at the 70th MAC meeting in June of 1956, the UNC announced the suspension of further inspections in the ROK. All inspection teams in Pusan, Kunsan, and Inchon were withdrawn on 9 June. This decision was made only after reasonable recourse had been exploited. With this action, the UNC revealed it would no longer tolerate flagrant armistice violations. But the problem of the clandestine northern Korean build-up remained. In June of 1957, the UNC announced it would no longer be bound by the provisions of the armistice prohibiting the introduction of new and sophisticated weapons. This was done after the northern Korean build-up had reached dangerous proportions. And so it stands today. The northern Koreans continue to build up their forces and the UNC declares its freedom to maintain the balance of the power that prevailed at the signing of the armistice. Today, the Armistice Agreement still serves as an instrument for regulating the truce in Korea. But its administrative and supervisory organs have been reduced to virtual ineffectiveness by the Communists. The commissions now function principally as a forum for the exchange of information and views.

2. The Politico-Military Complex

a. Government Structure

The traditional Korean concept of government originates with Confucian teachings, which were the official doctrines of the Yi dynasty (1393-1910). Government is viewed, not as a contractual arrangement between the governing body and the people, but as a natural institution designed to maintain a proper relationship among men in a hierarchical social order. The Confucian ethics teaches that "ruler and subject" represent one of the five natural relationships in the human community.[1]

Confucius (c. 551-479 B.C.) and the chief early developers of his views, Mencius (c. 371-289 B.C.) and Hsun Tzu (c. 300-235 B.C.) defined goodness and propriety largely in terms of ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother, and friend-friend relationships.

They laid special stress on filial piety, from which they thought all other virtues are derived. Also, they taught that in order to gain a well-ordered society, five cardinal virtues must be applied to interpersonal relationships: (1) love of humanity, (2) consideration for another's feelings and emotions, (3) justice, (4) assigning each other to particular duties and to his place in society, (5) reverence, acknowledging another's rights, sincerity and truthfulness of purpose.[2]

Government was not based upon law but was regarded essentially as a "government of men" with virtuous men to be respected and followed as models of wise conduct. The ideal ruler was primarily a teacher and precepter able to indoctrinate subjects with the rules of proper conduct. He exercised his punitive powers only when his subject could not be swayed by reason and instruction. He was charged by Heaven to be regarded as father for the welfare of the people and was expected to cultivate himself first.

Since government was monarchical (governed by one man), one man was held responsible if the country suffered natural

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[1]Dept. of the Army, U.S. Army Area Handbook for Korea, 1964, p. 201.

[2]John K. Fairbank, East Asia-The Great Tradition, Houghton Company, Boston, 1960, p. 69.

catastrophe, or social unrest and disorder, such was viewed as an indication of Heaven's disfavor with the ruler who deviated from his responsibilities and the prescribed order of the world.

Hence, the right to rebellion was implicit in theory. Mencius said that Heaven, seeing and hearing as the people heard and saw, would withdraw its sanction from the one against whom the governed persistently complained. However, he was no democrat and accepted the existing distinction between the rulers and ruled.

The government was also run exclusively by the privileged class of scholar-officials (Yan Ban) who were recruited through highly rigorous and competitive examinations which theoretically were open to applicants from almost all social classes, but in practice limited to the privileged class. Respected as morally superior and wielding the power of wealth, officials were exempt from taxation, military service, and forced labor.[3]

(1) The Legislative Branch

South Korea's constitution was promulgated on July 19, 1948, a date which is officially celebrated as the "Constitution Day" each year. Following this, Dr. Syngman Rhee was elected by the National Assembly as the first President of the new Republic.

On August 15, of the same year, the establishment of the Republic of Korea was declared in a solemn ceremony. The political confusion that followed the liberation was ended. Unfortunately, on June 25, 1950--less than two years after the founding of the Republic, the unprovoked invasion of South Korea occurred. In the bitter war years that followed, fearing almost certain defeat in the impending Presidential elections. President Rhee pushed through a constitutional amendment by arresting all opposition legislators and putting them under "police protection" until they passed an amendment changing the electoral system to his advantage.[4]

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[3] Ibid

[4] Jai Hyon Lee, A Handbook of Korea, Office of Public Information ROK, Seoul, 1955, p. 86.

The Constitution was amended in 1952, 1954 and 1960 by the Parliament and by popular referendum on December 17, 1962. It was promulgated on December 26, 1962, but did not become effective until December 17, 1963, when the first National Assembly, elected under the terms of the amended Constitution, convened. The 1962 version is also known as the Constitution of the Third Republic.

The Constitution

The Constitution consists of a Preamble, five chapters: General Provisions, Rights and Duties of the Citizens, Organs of the Government, Economy, Amendment Procedures and Supplementary Rules. The new Constitution declares the principle of national sovereignty (Art. I, Chapter 1). It provides for the rights of people to participate in government through the national assembly (Chapter III, Section I). It also provides for the rights of the people to elect the deputies of the Assembly, the President and other public officials (Arts. 21, 61(1), 64(1) Art. 22), to initiate amendments to the Constitution (Art. 119(1), and to accept or reject any constitutional amendment (Art. 121(1).

A motion to amend the basic law may be introduced either by a minimum of one-third of the National Assembly members, or by the concurrence of at least 500,000 electors who are qualified to vote in general elections. Proposed changes in the Constitution must be made public by the president "for more than 30 days." The National Assembly, then, is required to act on the amendment bill within 60 days of this public notice.

Passing an amendment requires the consent of two-thirds of the National Assembly members duly elected and seated. It is then submitted to a national referendum within 60 days and must receive the affirmative votes of more than one-half of the votes cast by more than one-half of all electors who are qualified to vote in general elections. Once approved, the amended constitution must be promulgated by the President.[5]

[5] Il Kyung Park "The Constitution of the ROK", Koreana, 1964 p. 52.

The National Assembly

The new Constitution adopts the unicameral system mainly because the bicameral system under the old Constitution resulted in high budgetary expenses, the degradation of the upper house down into a public assistance institution, and a constant delay in the disposition of state affairs.

In order to prevent problems arising from too small or too large a number of the deputies, the Constitution limits the membership of the Assembly between 150 and 200. They are elected for a four year term by universal, equal, direct, and secret vote, as well as by the system of proportional representation. In mid-1964 there were 175 Assemblymen, of whom 131 were directly elected and 44 were elected as representatives at large. To be eligible for election, a candidate must be at least 25 years of age and must be recommended by the political party to which he belongs.

An Assemblyman loses his membership if he leaves his party, joins another, or if his party is dissolved. This provision does not apply in case of a merger of parties or expulsion from a party.

The new Constitution provides for an "American-style" system of checks and balances. The veto power of the President is also recognized (Art. 49), which is a striking contrast to the old Constitution (after the third amendment). Before, bills passed by the Assembly became laws automatically. In view of past bitter experience, provisions were also made for the prevention of concession-hunting and soliciting in personnel affairs by the deputies (Art. 40).

In the absence of a constitutional court, the new constitution establishes an impeachment council as a constitutional organ to conduct the impeachment procedures (Art. 62).

The National Assembly elects one speaker and two vice speakers. Since mid-1964 there are 12 standing committees with the following functional designations: Legislative and Judiciary; Foreign Affairs; Home Affairs; Appropriations, Finance, and Banking; National Defense; Education and Public Information; Agriculture and Forestry; Commerce and Industry; Public Health and Welfare; Transports and Communications; Public Works; and Steering.

The administrative matters of the legislature are handled by the Secretariat headed by a secretary-general.

The National Assembly is empowered to review and inspect the activities of the executive branch through its standing committees. If incompetence or corruption is uncovered, the Assembly may "advise" the President to remove the public officials involved. The Assembly also has the power to resolve motions, through a majority vote, for the impeachment of the President, members of the State Council, and other public officials found guilty of violating provisions of the Constitution and other laws.[6]

(2) The Judiciary

The courts in the Republic of Korea, as distinguished from those in the United States and some other countries, are all national courts under supervision and control of the Supreme Court.

There are no local courts as in the states and cities of the United States. Judicial power is exercised by a system of courts whose judges are to act independently and in accordance with the Constitution and the law.

The highest court of the state is the Supreme Court, followed in order by three Appellate Courts, nine District Courts, and their 36 Branch Courts.

The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court has its seat in the capital city. The Chief Justice is appointed by the President with consent of the National Assembly upon nomination by the Judges's Recommendation Council. His term of office is six years and cannot be renewed.

Supreme Court Justices are also appointed by the President but upon the proposal of the Chief Justice after he has secured the consent of the Judges' Recommendation Council. They are appointed for a 10-year term and may be reappointed.

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[6]"Constitutional Amendments", Korean Report, 1962 2:6-7

Judges of the lower courts are appointed for a term of 10 years by the Chief Justice on the basis of the recommendation of the Council of the Supreme Court Justices.

Compulsory retirement age for all judges is 65. The Supreme Court may pass upon the constitutionality or legality of any law, administrative order, or regulations.

High Courts (Appelate Courts)

There are three High Courts at present. One is located in Seoul, one in Taegu, and the third in Kwangju. A chief judge presides over each High Court. The High Court is divided into civil, criminal, and special divisions. The Seoul High Court hears appeals concerning the rulings of the District Courts sitting at Seoul, Ch'unchon, Ch'ongju, and Taejon. The Taegu High Court exercises jurisdiction over the Taegu and Pusan District Courts, the Kwangju High Court, on the other hand, over the Kwangju, Chonju, and Cheju District Courts.

District Courts

At present, under the three High Courts there are nine District Courts with 36 branches including four dealing with juvenile offenders.

In each District Court, a chief judge presides and controls the general administrative affairs of that court, as well as the Branch Courts in his district. The power of the judgment of a District Court or Branch Court is exercised by a single judge. However, when a collegiate judgment is required, a bench composed of three judges exercises that power.[7]

(3) The Executive

The Presidential System

The new Constitution, abandoning the cabinet system used under the old one, adopts a presidential system of greater purity than any before. This decision was based on the following considerations: (1) the present stage of party

[7] Dept. of the Army, Op. Cit., p. 226.

politics in Korea warranted such a system, (2) efficient and smooth operation of the government under a cabinet system could not be expected, and, (3) political stability was necessary more than anything in view of the political, economic, and international situations. Thus, under the new Constitution, our institution may well belong to that category of presidential system in which the President however does not have the power to dissolve the Assembly, neither is the Assembly entrusted with the power to exercise a vote of non-confidence in the Executive. The further provisions are as follows: (1) the State Council is established not as a decision-making body, but a deliberative organ (Art. 83 1); (2) members of the Assembly cannot concurrently hold the office of the Prime Minister or other ministers (Art. 39); (3) a vote of non-confidence in the individual members of the State Council by the Assembly is not provided for, but the parliament may recommend to the President removal of the first minister or any other member of the State Council (Art. 59).

The new Constitution puts under the President a strong Board of Inspection, an organ with powers formerly vested in the Board of Audit and the Supervisory Committee with the result that the position of the President is strengthened (Art. 92, 93, 94, 95).

The National Security Council

The new Constitution, in view of the importance of national security, also sets up the National Security Council as a constitutional advisory organ to help the President in important matters prior to their deliberation by the cabinet.

The executive power is exercised by the President who is the head of state, head of the executive branch, and leader of the ruling political party. He is independent from and not answerable to the National Assembly. He is responsible only to the electorate and the Constitution.

The President is elected by a universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot. Candidates for the presidency must be endorsed by a political party and must be, at least, 40 years of age. The President is elected for a four year term and may serve a maximum of two terms.[8]

[8] Il Kyung Park, Op. Cit., p. 56.

Regional and Local Governments

In conformity with the realities of the country, the new Constitution, abandoning the popular election of local administrators, leaves the methods of the election of the head executives of local self-governments and the timing of establishing local councils to the enactment of laws (Art. 7(3), Supplementary Rules).

South Korea is administratively partitioned into nine provinces and two special cities (Seoul, Pusan) which are endowed with provincial status. For details see charts.

As of December 1963, there were 30 si, 139 kun, 20 ku, 90 up, 1,382 myon, and 18,510 ri. There were 38,283 local government employees at the end of 1963. The provincial governors (도지사) and mayors of Seoul and Pusan are appointed directly by the President.[9]

[9] Jai Hyon Lee, Op. Cit., p. 123.

Government of the Republic of Korea

Legislative _____ Executive _____ Judicial

National Assembly _____ President _____ Supreme Court
(175)

State Council or Council of Ministers	National Security	Economic & Scientific Council	Board of Inspection	CIA
Ministry of Foreign Affairs				
Ministry of Home Affairs				
Ministry of Finance				
Ministry of Justice				
Ministry of National Defense				
Ministry of Education				
Ministry of Agruculture & Forestry				
Ministry of Commerce & Industry				
Ministry of Construction				
Ministry of Health & Social Welfare				
Ministry of Transportation				
Ministry of Communications				
Ministry of Public Information				

(行政 기구)
(內閣 首班)

內閣사무처

法制처

原子力院

경제企劃원

조달청

원호처

蔚山開發計劃本部

농촌진흥청

외무부
내무부
재무부 — 전매청
법무부
국방부
문교부
농림부
상공부
보건사회부
교통부
체신부
공보부
건설부

Provincial Government (do)

Departments	City[10]	county (군郡 Kun)	
		town (읍邑 up)	township (면面 myon)
Public Information Home Affairs Education Health & Welfare Industry Public Works Police	city (시市 si) wards (구區 ku) tong (동洞 block) t'ong (통統 sub-block)		village (리里 ri) hamlet (부락 部落 burak)

Administratively, provincial governors and the mayors of Seoul and Pusan are directly responsible to and supervised by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Kunsu (군수郡守) and sijang (시장市長) are responsible primarily to provincial governors and secondarily to the chiefs of the Kun, the provincial governor, and the Minister of Home Affairs in that order.

Tong and ri are supervised by si and myon heads, respectively.

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[10]Cities having a population of more than 50,000.

(1962 年度 現在 의 地方行政구획수)

区分 / 市도별	区	郡	市	邑	面
서울	9				
경기		19	2	9	194
忠北		10	2	5	100
忠南		14	1	12	160
全北		14	3	8	164
全南		21	4	13	218
경北		23	4	13	227
경南	6	20	7	10	118
江原		17	3	9	114
濟주		2	1	3	10
合計	15	140	27	83	1,405

Special City Administration

(Seoul, Pusan)

City Hall

(Mayor)

Department of Education
Department of Health &
Social Affairs
Department of Industry
Department of Recon-
struction
Department of Water-
Service
Department of Police
Department of Finance

b. Political Developments Since 1945

This area study is an attempt to provide the student with an understanding of the current political situation in the Republic of Korea. A history of the political development will be examined in order to shed light upon the present controversies and uncertainties.

Factionalism, nationalism, and foreign influence have dominated Modern Korea's political development. Our purpose here is to analyze these factors in order to gain an understanding of their development and role in Korean Constitutional Government.

Factionalism arose from the vicious party conflicts during the wane of the Yi Dynasty and has been a dominant characteristic of Korea's political development. Factionalism brought about the condition of political stalemate between Korean political parties. This decreased the influence of the parties in national government, fostered disunity, and created hardship for the Korean People.

Nationalism is a common feature of Korean parties. Nationalistic goals are advocated by parties regardless of political philosophy. Rightist party platforms include such liberal concepts as land-tenure reform and nationalization of resources and transportation.

Foreign influence also exerts an effect upon Korean political activities. The United States of America has a tremendous influence over the economic and military policies of South Korea.

The political activities in South Korea are characterized by a strong head of state. As in most of Asia, the power resides in the President, the chief of the military, and the head of the national police.

The internal political situation in South Korea is still confused and fraught with strife and political unrest. Korean politics have been rough, and sometimes violent. South Korea has been troubled by political upheavals and general instability arising from inefficient government leadership, dearth of natural resources and productive facilities, population pressure, and physical destruction wrought by the Korean War. The government's

economic difficulties have been further compounded by the need for maintaining disproportionately large armed forces.

A larger segment of the population in South Korea is able to assert itself in political affairs. In general, power has been freely and openly contested by all aspirants, and all social and political forces are guaranteed equal freedom and rights.

(1) The Afterwar Years

The Liberation.

The surrender of Japan, on August 15, 1945, seemed at long last to promise the opportunity for freedom and a rebirth of Korea; however, a wartime secret agreement divided the country into two zones at the 38th Parallel, the south zone was occupied by the American army and the north zone by the Soviet army. Enthusiasm was quickly dampened by the division of the country, and by the growing polarization of domestic political forces into two hostile camps.

From the various political parties which sprang up in South Korea following the liberation, three political groups emerged: The extreme rightists, the centrists, and the extreme leftists. Within these categories, power was held by a handful of leaders. The smaller parties revolved around these leaders like satellites, some merging their identity with the larger political groups.

In Seoul, the leftists formed an organization called the National Foundation Council which included nationalist leaders An Jae Hong and Yeo Un Hyeong. Designating itself as an "interim government" and headed by Yeo, a noted left-inclined nationalist leader, the Council set up a nation-wide organization and tried to take over the functions of the Japanese administration. It failed to establish effective control over the chaotic situation because its leaders were soon split into two rivaling groups, the rightists and the leftists.

Before the landing of the American troops, the leftists formed a self-styled "People's Republic of Korea." A coalition government, with Dr. Syngman Rhee as the figurehead President, was set up. Leftist leaders occupied almost all the key posts in it. The rightist nationalist leaders

rejected the "People's Republic" and formed a separate organization called "The Korean Democratic Party" which supported the Provisional Government in China, composed of exiled nationalist leaders for Korean independence.[1]

Party politics was introduced into South Korea for the first time immediately after the liberation. Until then there was no organized, legal party appealing to popular sentiments. The party system was characterized by the absence of grassroots support and organization. By the time the American occupation forces landed in South Korea, mid-September 1945, the rightists and the leftists were deadlocked against each other.

By the end of 1945, most of the exiled Korean leaders returned to South Korea; including Dr. Syngman Rhee, who once headed the Republic of Korea Government-in-exile in China; Kim Koo, the then head of the Chungking-based "Provisional Government;" and Dr. Kim Kyue Shik, his top associate. With their return, the political situation was given added vigor and complexity. Dr. Rhee and other nationalist leaders formed a "Society for the Rapid Realization of Independence." Its purpose was to launch a united nationalist front to achieve independence for the country. Repeated efforts by some political leaders for a national coalition of the rightists and leftists ended in failure.

Political activities in South Korea were unstable and hectic owing to a lack of political training. The three rightist parties - the Korean Democratic Party, led by Kim Sung Soo; the Society for the Rapid Realization of Independence, led by Syngman Rhee; and the Korean Independence Party, with Kim Koo - discussed a merger in January 1947, which failed to achieve the unity.

The right-center parties (the National Party led by An Jae Hong, and the New Progressive Party, led by Kim Ho) were growing with the support of the American occupation authorities in 1946. An effort was made to strengthen the two center parties under the leadership of Dr. Kim Kyue Shik, but the extremists on both sides threatened to engulf them. The rightists, although their history was brief, were in the most powerful position owing to their

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[1]Seoul Haptong New Agency, Korea Annual, 1964, p. 62.

strong organization. American support then switched from the centrists to the rightists.

The leftists parties were less clearly defined and many moderates were associated with them at times. The extreme left, originally the Communist Party, changed its name to the South Korean Labor Party. The forerunner of this party was organized by Pak Heon Young in April 1925, and admitted into the Comintern in 1926. It was unable to establish a foot-hold in Korea due to stiffening Japanese suppression during the occupation and disruptive intraparty factionalism. In 1928 it was expelled from and dissolved by the Comintern and was not revived until September 1945, again under the leadership of Pak Heon Young.[2]

Though the South Korean Labor Party continued to maintain its organization intact until the end of 1946, it often joined with other leftist parties to form united front groups such as the Korean People's Party, led by Yeo Un Hyeong and the Revolution Party, led by Kim Won Bong. It was, however, weakened by its failure to obtain support from the U.S. Military Government.

Political Developments Under the U. S. Military Government

The United States Military Government from 1945-48, which replaced the Japanese colonial administration as the governing body in South Korea, was confronted with a series of internal political and economic problems. Because of what many Koreans described as the "vagueness" of the United States policy and the "unfamiliarity" of American officials with Korean conditions, the Military Government's efforts to prepare for eventual Korean self-government were not fully understood by the Korean people. Nevertheless, the United States Military Government was favorably received by the conservative rightist forces.[3]

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[2] U.S. Army, U. S. Army Area Handbook for Korea, 1964, p. 256

[3] Ibid, p. 234.

Although Korea's independence was repeatedly mentioned in the war-time agreements among the Allied Powers, no detailed plan was formulated until the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference of December 27, 1945. The United States, The United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union then agreed that Korea would be placed under a five-year trusteeship by the three big allied powers plus China. The trusteeship was to prepare Korea for full independence. The plan was completely unexpected to the Koreans and violent domonstrations were staged throughout South Korea.

Despite the stiff opposition on the part of Koreans, the United States and Soviet occupation authorities implemented the Moscow Agreement and formed a Joint American-Soviet Commission on Korea in January 1946. The Commission was charged with the making of necessary preparations for a provisional government, "in consultation with the political parties and social organizations in Korea." Due to its selection of the "political parties with which it chose to consult," the Commission deadlocked. Finally, the United States carried the Korean independence problem to the United Nations Assembly in October 1947. The Commission was closed by this action.

During the American-Soviet Joint Commission sessions, the political situation in South Korea became further complicated. The leftists stepped up their campaigns against the military government and three rightist leaders, Syngman Rhee, Kim Koo and Kim Kyue Shik, disagreed among themselves. Kim Kyue Shik led the moderates in the nationalist camp in a move to seek a national coalition with the leftists. On the other hand, Syngman Rhee and Kim Koo opposed the trusteeship. Dr. Rhee maneuvered for immediate independence and urged the establishment of a separate government in South Korea.

The United States Military Government set up the South Korean Interim Government in May 1947 with a Legislative Assembly composed of 90 rightist and centrist representatives. The final veto right was reserved for the United States occupation authorities with American officials continuing in their advisory status.

In September 1947, the United Nations Assembly resolved that a provisional government should be formed by the Korean people and created a special commission to expedite and facilitate the establishment of such a government.

A dissident group of nationalists, led by Kim Koo and Kum Kyu Shik, attempted to negotiate with the Communists to explore the possibility of forming a unified coalition government. Before going into a separate election, they visited Pyongyang in April, where they had meetings with Kim Il-sung and Kim Too-bong, the Communist leaders in North Korea. Their plan failed and Kim Koo was assassinated in Seoul. During the post-liberation confusion, terrorism and assassinations accounted for the loss of many other political leaders: Song Chin Woo, Chang Deuk Soo and Yeo Un Hyeong and finally even Kim Koo.[4]

The Soviet Union not only refused to discuss the establishment of a Korean government with the United Nations Commission, but refused to permit the entry of the United Nations Commission into North Korea. Finally the Commission recommended that national elections be held in South Korea. Following acceptance of this recommendation by the United Nations General Assembly, national elections were held to form the South Korean National Assembly and to formulate a Constitution.

Eighty-five independents, 55 Syngman Rhee followers, 28 Korean Democratic Party members, and 32 from minor parties were elected. Seats for North Korean representatives proportionate to the population in North Korea were left vacant. The single-house National Assembly opened its first session on May 31, 1948, adopted the new Constitution in July, and elected Dr. Syngman Rhee as the Republic's first President. When Dr. Rhee returned to Korea after an absence of many years, he was widely known and revered as a patriot for his devotion to the cause of Korean independence. His election was universally acclaimed.

(2) The Beginnings of Political Life (1948-61)

The First Republic.

The Government of the Republic of Korea was formally established, on August 15, 1948, with recognition by the United States. The reorganization of political groups progressed in both government and opposition camps. As the government party, the Korean Nationalist Party (KNP), formed the largest single political force with 71 seats in the

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[4] Ibid.; Seoul Haptong News Agency, Op. Cit., pp. 64, 67.

National Assembly. The Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP), which succeeded the Korean Democratic Party, took 70 Assembly seats to become the second largest.[5]

In the second election of the National Assembly on May 30, 1950, the two major parties declined to minor positions. The KNP and DNP captured 24 and 23 seats respectively. However, Shin Ick Hi was selected speaker of the Assembly. The Korean War enabled Dr. Rhee to consolidate his power and emerge as the only leader capable of mounting effective opposition to Communist aggression. Unfortunately he tended to view all opposition as potentially subversive; hence, to be suppressed in the national interests.

In December 1951, Dr. Rhee formed the Liberal Party (LP), a dominant parliamentary group made up of loose coalitions. The LP was supported by the Korean Youth Corps headed by Lee Peum Seuk, a former prime minister. This move was motivated by Rhee's desire to effect two constitutional amendments - election of the President by direct popular vote and creation of a second chamber of the legislature - for which he needed two-thirds majority of parliamentary support. Dr. Rhee felt that his chances of re-election in 1952 might be jeopardized unless he were elected by popular vote rather than by the unpredictable National Assembly; hence he sought to deprive the National Assembly of its power to elect the President.

In order to impose his will on the legislature, martial law was proclaimed to curb Communist guerrilla activities, but more than fifty Assemblymen were arrested on vague charges of conspiracy. When the remainder of the legislators still opposed his constitutional amendment, and, in protest, boycotted Assembly meetings, they were arrested, forcibly taken to the Assembly Hall, and under the threatening clubs of the police were compelled to pass the Constitutional amendment.[6]

By using his familiar police-state methods, Rhee's re-election in 1952 for a second term constituted his first mandate through popular vote. He became more dictatorial and increasingly obsessed with the idea that he alone knew what was best for Korea. After the Armistice, his government grew increasingly authoritarian and the corruption of

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[5] Ibid., p. 70

[6] ROK Government, Military Revolution in Korea, p. 4.

officials became a national disgrace. Rhee's aging mind was apparently unable to accept new ideas and he became increasingly isolated from the people, partly because of the mental and physical infirmities of his extreme age and partly because he was shielded from reality by a human curtain of secretaries, guards, and officials who utilized his lack of information for their own selfish purposes.[7]

Looking forward to a third term, President Rhee's Liberal Party proposed a second constitutional amendment permitting an indefinite number of terms in office. His Liberal Party was unable to muster sufficient votes to pass the amendment, even though they openly purchased the votes of thirty-four legislators. The issue came to vote in November 1954: the Amendment failed to secure the 136 votes required for passage. The next day, Rhee ordered the bill passed, announcing a new method of tabulating votes. According to this procedure the fraction of .3 should be counted as a unit - a single vote in order to get the two-thirds majority of 203. He lost most of his popularity even among the conservative rural population as a result of such methods.

In September 1955, embittered and frustrated, the opposition forces countered by forming a new conservative party called the Democratic Party, which included Shin Ick Hi, Chough Pyong Ok, Chang Myun and Pak Sun Cheun. The organization presented a semblance of a united opposition. In December another opposition group named the Progressive Party, was formed under the leadership of Cho Bong Am, a former minister of Agriculture and an ex-communist.

Popular opposition to Rhee was reflected in the May 1956 presidential elections. He was reelected for a third term, but his share of the vote was only 55 percent. Moreover, his running mate, Lee Ki Poong, was defeated by Chang Myun, the Democratic Party's Vice-Presidential candidate. The Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Shin Ick Hi, died of heart failure during the campaign, but he received over 1.8 million, or almost 20 percent of the total votes cast. The Progressive Party's presidential candidate, Cho Bong Am, polled about 23.5 percent of the total.

Uncertain about his chances of reelection in 1960, Rhee and his Liberal Party supporters proposed still another constitutional amendment which would permit the election of the

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[7] Ibid. p. 3

President by the National Assembly rather than by popular vote. When it became apparent that the constitutional amendment was unattainable, Rhee proposed, in August 1958, to revise the National Security Law of 1949, for the purpose of suppressing the opposition by indicting them as Communists or subversives.

Confronted with vigorous opposition in the Assembly, the Liberals directed 300 policemen to remove all uncooperative opposition members and lock them up in the basement of the Assembly building. Thus unopposed, the Liberals passed some 25 bills, including the controversial new National Security Law and Local Autonomy Law. The new laws gave Rhee's government complete control of political activities to the very lowest level. The first victim of the new National Security Law was Cho Bong Am, and the "Kyeonghyang" newspaper. The influential opposition Catholic newspaper affiliated with the Democratic Party was suspended.[8]

In the presidential elections of March 15, 1960, Dr. Rhee was unopposed because of the unexpected death of the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Chough Pyong Ok. In view of Dr. Rhee's age, the choice of Vice-President was crucial. However, there was doubt that his running mate could be elected. The Liberal Party was determined to win the election of Lee Ki Poong, who was physically unfit to serve, due to his progressive paralysis.

According to the published reports entitled "Military Revolution in Korea," a series of election maneuvers occurred as follows:

Democratic rallys were prohibited throughout the nation. Specific instructions were sent by the Home Minister, Choe In Kyu, to police chiefs throughout the nation specifying the exact plurality by which Dr. Rhee and Mr. Lee were to be elected. Hundreds of thousands of pre-marked ballots accompanied these instructions, and these were dutifully stuffed into the ballot boxes on election day. [9]

The result was a foregone conclusion. Both Dr. Rhee and Mr. Lee were "elected" by the exact majority directed by the Home Ministry. In protest, the Democratic Party declared the election "illegal, null, and void" and sought a court injunction to nullify the election results. The people did

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[8]U.S. Army, Op. Cit., p. 237.

[9]ROK Government Op. Cit., p. 12.

not accept the rigged election complacently. On the contrary, led by massive student demonstrations and infuriated by the indiscriminate killing of students by the police, the entire country rose up against Rhee's dictatorial administration. This was the April Student Revolution. It forced Dr. Rhee to resign and leave the country. Lee and his entire family committed suicide.

The last official act of President Rhee before his resignation was to declare a state of Martial Law; however, the military adopted an attitude of sympathetic neutrality toward the students. The Martial Law Commander, General Song Yoo Chan, maintained order until the discredited National legislature hastily convened and appointed an interim government headed by Huh Chung, then Foreign Minister.

The Caretaker Government.

A caretaker government dissolved the widely resented Anti-Communist Youth League and began prosecuting some 30 former Cabinet ministers and politicians from Dr. Rhee's Liberal Party on charges of fraud in the March election of 1960. The legislature also passed an amendment to the Constitution which made the Prime Minister, the executive head of the Government, responsible to the Lower House of the National Legislature and changed the Presidency to a ceremonial post. The Legislature then resigned to make way for a new national election.

In the general election held on July 29, 1960, the Democratic Party was victorious. It swept over the general election, taking 175 seats of the 233 in the House of Representatives and 31 out of the 58 in the House of Councillors.[10] In August, Yun Po Sun, leader of the "Old Guard" faction of the party, and Chang Myun, heading its "New Faction," were elected as the President and the Prime Minister by the National Assembly.

The Second Republic.

The new government formed by the Democratic Party on August 23, 1960, marked the beginning of the Second Republic. The new administration restored all constitutional rights suppressed by its predecessor and continued the task of prosecuting Rhee's political aides. Dr. Chang's administration,

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[10]Seoul Haptong News Agency, Op. Cit., p. 92.

however, disappointed the people by becoming embroiled in factional feuding over patronage and power.

The ruling Democrats were split by the Old Guard Faction of President Yun and Kim To.Yon, and the New Faction of Prime Minister Chang. The former group was divided in turn into moderate and hard-line cliques. The latter faction was split into "old," "youth," and "centrist" cliques. In October 1961, the Old Guard Faction broke away and formed the New Democratic Party.

The executive branch of the Second Republic was weak, changing cabinet members continuously. Corruption and nepotism soon riddled the new administration. The economic situation continued to deteriorate and unemployment rose steadily. The government sought to alleviate the tension by diverting defense expenditures to relief needs, but a projected reduction of the armed forces by 100,000 men did not materialize due to military opposition.[11]

Failures and problems were dramatized by the press, further compounding the government's difficulties. The number of newspapers and periodicals jumped from 592 in 1960 to 1,444 in 1961 with about 100,000 reporters who frequently ventured into blackmailing. The incompetence of the Chang government became obvious and public dissatisfaction increased. The administration was unable to secure the cooperation of its huge majority in the legislature and to control the increasing waves of riotous daily demonstrations. There was mounting popular suspicion that the new regime had already "betrayed the spirit of the April 1 Revolution." On May 16, 1961, a group of combat-seasoned young military junior officers successfully carried out a "coup d'etat" in South Korea, overthrowing Chang's government.

(3) The Political Scene in the Sixties.

The Army Coup.

The military revolution of May 1961 was aimed at eliminating the incompetence, corruption, and chaos of the Second Republic. The military coup was conceived as early as February 1960 by a group of Army officers headed by Major General Park Chung Hee and Lieutenant Colonel Kim Chong Pil. The

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[11] U.S. Army, Op. Cit., p. 240.

coup was finally carried out on May 16, 1961, and the coup leaders announced they had taken over all government functions. The victorious officers immediately formed a Military Revolutionary Committee, proclaimed martial law, dissolved the National Assembly and local councils, suspended party politics, and took over the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of the government. On May 19, the Committee was renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction of Korea and ran the government until December 16, 1963.

In August 1961 General Park, chairman of the Supreme Council, announced his intention of restoring civilian government by mid-1963 and partisan politics before the end of the year. The junta also took steps to prosecute certain leaders of the former Rhee regime in the March 1960 election frauds and announced plans to confiscate some $44 million from 59 "illicit fortune makers."[12]

These changes were greeted by the public with a mixture of restrained enthusiasm and skepticism. This attitude was due to the untried quality of the military men in carrying out the affairs of government and politics, and partly to the traditional popular concept that statesmanship is the primary function of civilian rather than military authorities.

In an attempt to remove the older political elements from the scene, the revolutionary leaders promulgated, in March 1962, the Political Purification Law. A blacklist of some 4,374 individuals was made public. Later, most of these persons were screened and declared fit for participation in political activities.

On December 31, 1962, the Political Party Act was promulgated and early in 1963 the new election laws for the National Assembly and for the Presidency were announced. The popular disenchantment with the junta was caused by the worsening living conditions and from the belief that the new leadership was no better than its older civilian counterpart. The divisive effects of factionalism were soon evident among the junta members.

In January 1963, General Kim Tong Ha disassociated himself from the military junta over political and personal disagreements with Kim Chong Pil, then director of Central

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[12] Ibid., p. 242.

Intelligence Agency and the chief architect of a new ruling party to be known as the Democratic Republican Party. Prime Minister Song Yoo Chan himself criticized certain members of the junta for their attempts to perpetuate themselves in power.[13]

It was against this background that on February 27, 1963, General Park Chung Hee candidly admitted partial failure of the revolutionary military government and declared that he would not participate in any civilian government. Kim Chong Pil himself, yielding to the opposition, as well as internal pressures, resigned from both governmental and party posts. There was a minor crisis in March 1963, when General Park proposed four more years of military rule in a sudden reversal of his earlier position. Later, he again modified his position in the face of external, as well as domestic pressures.

The resumption of civilian political activities in the spring of 1963, was accompanied by confusion and tension. The opposing civilians, who had just been freed from the bondage of the Political Activities Purification Act, started to align under two different political parties, the Democratic Party and Civil Rule Party. They directed their attacks on the Military Government and the Democratic Republican Party formed by Kim Chong Pil and his associates.

Under the sponsorship of General Kim Chae Choon, then Director of the CIA, the Liberal Democratic Party was organized. Meanwhile, negotiations aimed at merging the Democratic Party and the New Rule Party broke down, resulting in a partition of the Democratic Party. The Civil Rule Party broke away from the Party of the People.[14]

The mud-slinging and ugly fights, witnessed in the course of negotiations for the organization of a single opposition party, dealt a fatal blow to opposition politicians. The same old show of notorious partisan struggles in the face of their common political enemy, the soldier politicians, cost the civilian politicians the support and sympathy of the people which had hitherto been theirs to command.

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[13] Ibid., p. 243.

[14] Seoul Haptong News Agency, Op. Cit., p. 143.

A presidential election was held on October 15, 1963, and General Park from the Democratic Republican Party won by a narrow margin over Yun Po Sun of the Civil Rule Party. In the general election of November 26, President Park's party won 110 of the 175 seats. On December 17, 1963, the National Assembly formally convened and a new cabinet was formed. This marked the founding of the Third Republic.

The Third Republic.

The Third Republic restored the presidential system of government after 31 months of rule by a military junta. General Park became the President for a term of four years. The New Government began its first year with hope, but ended it with dismay and frustration.

The violent demonstrations protesting what was termed the government's "humiliating" policy toward Japan, raged throughout the first six months of the year. Demonstrators stormed the streets of Seoul with increasing vigor. The Government repeatedly found itself drawn into political and partisan disputes over unpopular policies toward Japan.[15]

The Democratic Republican Party championed the cause of speedy modernization and the development of a dynamic executive and political leadership. However, the party in 1964 was troubled by factional feuding between the Kim Chong Pil forces, or the "militant faction," and a group of "anti-Kim forces" also known as the "moderate faction." The nucleus of the military faction included some of the leading participants in the military coup of 1961. It was supported by civilian politicians drawn largely from the provinces of Kyungsang Puk-do and Kyungsang Nam-do, which are known as the "Kyungsang faction." The anti-Kim faction was led by Chang Kyun Sun, a Vice-speaker of the National Assembly, but Kim Chong Pil still appears to be the most powerful figure in the party.

The results of the general elections in November 1963 showed that apart from the ruling Democratic Republican Party only four parties obtained one or more seats for a total of 65 seats, of which the Civil Rule Party held 41.

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[15] Ibid., p. 43.

Other minor parties were the Democratic Party, with 13 seats, the Liberal Democratic Party, with 9 and the Party of the People with 2.[16]

In September 1964 the Democratic Party and the Party of the People merged into a single organization, retaining the name of the Democratic Party, and was represented by Mrs. Pak Sun Cheun. The Civil Rule Party (which insisted upon non-interference of the military in politics and the formation of a non-partisan cabinet based on the merits of specific individuals) was split between the "militant" group of Chung Hae Yong, who controlled party finances, and the "moderate" group led by Yu Chin San, who held control of the party's power in the Assembly. The moderate faction was in favor of an orderly and responsible collaboration with the ruling party within the constitutional framework while the militant faction repudiated the "constitutionality of existing government." The latter contended that the third Republic was merely the extension of the military junta in civilian disguise.

The general election forced the opposition party to regroup further because of the serious defeat due to the disunity among the opposition groups. The Liberal Democratic Party merged with the Civil Rule Party and the Party of the People with the Democratic Party. Efforts continued to achieve further unity between two opposition parties. The Minjung Party was born in June 1965 with the merger of the Civil Rule Party and the Democratic Party.

The major issue was the strengthening of government efforts to hasten conclusion of the Korea-Japan normalization negotiations. The opposition parties staged consolidated campaigns within the National Assembly against a possible compromise and sparked off a series of violent anti-government demonstrations.

On August 12, 1965, sixty-one Democratic Party members in the National Assembly tendered their resignations because of their inability to block the ratification of the Korea-Japan treaty and agreements.

On August 13, 1965, the National Assembly passed a bill requesting legislative approval for the dispatching of a

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[16] Ibid., pp. 50-53; U.S. Army, Op. Cit., p. 260

combat division to South Vietnam. The legislative session was attended only by ruling Democratic Republican assemblymen and an independent. The bill was passed with a vote of 101 to 1, with 2 abstentions. The total number of assemblymen present at the voting was 104 out of 175.[17]

On October 8, 1965, the moderate faction of the Democratic Party legislators decided to attend the National Assembly, ending a boycott which began on August 12. The opposition was divided by a majority faction of moderate members and the hard-line faction under the leadership of Yun Po Sun. The hard-line faction broke away from the party to form a new party named the New Korean Party on February 5, 1966.

The Democratic Republican Party stepped up its efforts to attain supremacy over the administration to realize virtual "party politics" in governing the nation. The party demanded the return of Kim Chong Pil as the party chairman. He was reelected at the National Convention in December 1945. He was to coordinate between the ruling party and the administration and bring about the party's supremacy over the administration.

The ruling Democratic Republican Party pushed for the resurrection of the party's "inaugural" ideas, which could be roughly characterized as the shift of the younger generation to replace the old and of the modernization of South Korea toward what was called "nationalistic democracy."

The General Election 1967. The May 3 Presidential election and the June 8 legislative elections of 1967 prompted charges of fraud and rigging. This Presidential race was the barometer of public confidence in President Park's achievements during his first four-year term. The election was fought mainly between Park, running on the ticket of the ruling Democratic Republican Party (DRP), and his arch foe, Yun Po Sun, of the "united opposition" New Democratic Party (NDP). This was the second showdown between the two since Yun was narrowly defeated by Park in the 1963 Presidential election. President Park campaigned on the platform of "Modernization of the Fatherland," while Yun assailed the incumbents with slogans against dictatorship, corruption, power abuse, and diplomatic subordination. A total of eleven

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[17] The Korean Republic, August 14, 1965.

million voters cast ballots (84 per cent), 51 per cent went to Park, 41 per cent to Yun, and the remaining 8 per cent to the other four candidates combined. President Park was inaugurated on July 1 for his second four-year term.

This election showed some significant changes in South Korea's voting behavior. President Park carried all the provinces located in the eastern part of the Korean peninsula, but he lost the provinces in the western part, including Seoul Special City, capital of Korea. The division of North-South in the 1963 presidential election changed into a division of East-West in 1967 as a new pattern of President Park's support. This voting division was due to the fact that President Park's government gave preferential capital investment to his home province of Kyonsang, located in the eastern sector. President Park's increasing support came not only from rural areas, but also from urban centers, due to his industrialization policy with its factory building and heavy investment in the urban areas. Despite his rural votes in the east, which showed remarkable gains, the votes in the agricultural west declined noticeably. The sharp increase, from 30% in 1963 to 46 % in 1967, in President Park's vote in Seoul, which in the past consistently gave its vote to the opposition, indicated that his modernization policy was apparently well received by the urban population. President Park's decisive victory was a reward for the previous six years of responsible government, remarkable stability, economic growth, and a gradual return to the democratic processes interrupted by his military coup in 1961.

The campaign in the June 8 legislative election was focused on local and personality issues rather than on national policy. Candidates of the ruling Democratic Republican Party emphasized their ability to attract more public works and government industrial investment to local constituencies and the necessity of political stability for economic development; the opposition, on the other hand, charged that its own election would assure an opposition-dominated assembly which would safeguard democracy by preventing the abuse of power and misuse of public funds by the dictatorial government and the corrupted ruling party. President Park's remarkable victory and his party's financial strength contributed to the landslide victory the Democratic Republicans won in the legislative elections. This election saw the rise of new faces in the national political arena in South Korea. This trend was mainly due to the candidacy of a new generation of membership in the ruling party.

Without the widespread irregularities in the elections, Park's party members would not have been elected in the National Assembly by a decisive margin. Of the 15 million qualified voters, more than 75 per cent cast their ballots amid irregularities and violence. The 130 seats captured by the ruling party were well over the 117 absolute majority required for constitutional amendments. The major opposition New Democratic Party won 44 seats. The outcome roused the opposition to refuse to participate in the newly elected Seventh National Assembly. The legislative elections had been carried out in an atmosphere of degradation. Korean students had once again taken to the streets for demonstrations and, as a counter-measure, schools had closed their gates to disperse their students for early summer vacation in 1967. The subsequent boycott by the New Democratic Party's legislators in the National Assembly continued for five months, increasing political tensions and creating public unrest.

The opposition parties, led by the New Democratic Party, demanded an immediate nullification of the elections. On June 16, 1967, President Park issued a special statement expressing his firm determination to crack down on election irregularities and the government arrested many DRP members. One DRP seat was relinquished to an NDP candidate and the DRP disciplinary committee expelled six elected members from the party on the charge of election fraud. After a series of party caucuses, Yu Chin O, chairman of the NDP, declared that his party would boycott the forthcoming Assembly if new elections were not held. The DRP convened the National Assembly without participation by opposition party members. This unilateral action of the DRP hardened the determination of the opposition. Thus the legislative branch was paralyzed and the government weakened considerably.

The Democratic Republican Party and the New Democratic Party ended their impasse over the election irregularities after 165 days and agreed to normalize the National Assembly functions. The agreement, climaxing 15 days of negotiation, included 14 points. A highlight of the settlement was that the legislature was to set up a special committee designed to effect the legislative programs discussed during the negotiation, including amendment of the National Assembly Election Law, the Central Election Management Committee, the Political Party Law, and the law about political funds. Under the agreement, the two special assembly committees were to complete their activities within four months, to enact a special law, and to stipulate more severe penalties against

policemen, intelligence agents, and other government officials involved in election rigging. The agreement did not touch on the demand that President Park admit to election fraud and to make an apology to the Korean people.

The National Assembly's six-man special legislation group failed to meet the deadline (December 1967) for the drafting of a bill to create a special parliamentary investigation committee on the election frauds. Following the breakdown of the negotiations, the Assembly caucus of the DRP legislators reaffirmed the schedule calling for the passage of the 1968 national budget bill by December 29. The NDP resolved not to compromise drafting of a special law if full implementation of the 14-point protocol was not effected. The NDP set up barricades of chairs around the rostrum in an attempt to block the DRP from running the budget bill through.

Early on the morning of December 28, 1967, in a lightning move, the DRP rammed the controversial 1968 budget bill through the National Assembly amid bodily clashes between members of the two parties. House action on the 220-billion-won budget billcame when Vice Speaker, Chang Kyung Sun, a DRP member, took the rostrum and announced the passage of the bill, NDP chairman Yu Chin O declared in a choked voice that his party, along with the people, would never abandon their fight for democracy for the nation. He also contended that the DRP's unilateral action in passing the budget bill was illegal; hence, the bill was null and void. The opposition charged that the passage of the budget underscored the fact that the DRP was nothing more than a rubber stamp for the decisions made by the executive. Despite the attempts at political compromise between the DRP and NDP parties the political situation remained unsettled in the National Assembly.

The Constitutional Amendment of 1969. Since the military coup, Lieutenant Colonel Kim Jong Pil has been in the limelight of the Korean political arena. Colonel Kim played a key role in the coup that placed General Park in power and headed the Korean Central Intelligence Agency since its beginning. After his retirement from the army at the rank of General, he organized the Democratic Republican Party. As the right-hand man of President Park, he also played a main role in bringing to a successful conclusion the normalization negotiations with Japan. Following his return from the United States after attending a six-month seminar at Harvard,

he was reappointed at the third convention of the Democratic Republican Party as party chairman. Kim, who is married to President Park's niece, was reinstated as leader of one and a half million members of the ruling party.

On May 30, 1968, Kim suddenly announced his retirement from the active political world. His retirement, including resignation from his National Assembly membership and other public posts, was made in the wake of intraparty bickering over an attempt by his devoted followers to push him as presidential candidate in 1971 to succeed President Park. In the midst of the intraparty dispute, his close associate, Representative Kim Yong Tae, was expelled from the party on charges of forming a political circle called the "National Welfare Society," which the party ruling body branded as detrimental to party integrity. Kim Jong Pil was believed to be one of the most likely successors to President Park in the government party. President Park, who had not been consulted by Kim beforehand, sent his chief secretary Lee Hu Rak to dissuade him, but Lee was not successful. President Park, who heads the DRP, named former Seoul Mayor Yun Tchi Young as acting party chairman.

Dr. Kim's retirement was regretted by loyal remnants of the DRP's "mainstream" faction, but this has been reduced over the years to a virtual minority in ruling circles. In his retirement announcement, Kim bitterly complained of his gradual estrangement from the "real power seat" and declared he had "no present plans" for political comeback. Whenever his position was being eroded and his rivals seemed to have the upper hand, Kim had gone into political exile, avoiding struggles and awaiting President Park's designation of him as his successor.

By-elections of September 24, 1968, were held to fill Kim's and two other vacancies. One candidate for the DRP, the opposition NDP, and the splinter Masses' Party were elected. The resulting line-up in the 175-seat National Assembly was DRP-113, NDP-46, October 5 Club-12, Masses' Party-2, and 2 Independents. The abrupt departure of Kim Jong Pil, long regarded as President Park's number two man and heir-apparent, left the question of presidential succession. President Park's second term expires in 1971. After having initially denied any intention of seeking a constitutional amendment, leaders of the government party had begun to talk publicly about such a step as a means of assuring "public stability and economic progress."

On May 21, 1969, South Korea's major opposition party, the NDP, held its convention and renominated Yu Chin O as its party chairman. Four other senior leaders, including Dr. Chyung Il Hyoung and Yu Jin San, shared with two "mainstream" leaders and two "non-mainstream" officials, the party leadership. The 550 delegates adopted a resolution to fight the constitutional amendment and block President Park from running for a third term in 1971. Chairman Yu stressed that independent South Korea has not yet had a normal constitutional transfer of power and declared that a legal succession is the very essence of the democratic progress. The October 15 Club assemblymen separated the so-called independents from the DRP in order to assure at least the essence of a two-party system in the National Assembly. If, however, the opposition NDP members boycotted the session, the government DRP would hold a little less than two-thirds of the Assembly seats. With the support of these 12 independents, the DRP had adequate strength to pass an amendment.

The DRP did not formally declare whether or not it would amend the Constitution, despite Park's supporters promoting the idea. President Park himself was cautious not to stir up a hornet's nest of controversy. The only remark he made on the issue was at the 1969 New Year's press conference when he stated that it would not be too late to take up the question of constitutional amendments. Park's comment was interpreted to mean that the President himself recognized the need for at least studying the feasibility of amendment.

What seemed to be an indirect indication of the Park Government's real intentions came on April 8 when five of the ruling party's more influential members, loyal supporters of Kim Jong Pil, were expelled for a revolt against Park's leadership. The 57 government party members among the 114 DRP members, in an unprecedented gesture of defiance, sided with the opposition to dismiss Education Minister Kwon O Pyong, who had enjoyed President Park's confidence.

The revolt was one demonstration of the government party's disunity and cast doubt upon the possibility of a constitutional amendment which requires a two-third majority vote. The ruling party had only 108 votes, leaving it nine short of the 117 votes needed. The NDP had 46, independents 6, and a group of government members expelled after the 1967 elections had 14. The fifth chapter of the Third Republic Constitution, which Chairman Park once used to prevent this sort of legalized dictatorship, along with the

amendment for three four-year terms, stipulates that (1) an amendment proposal may be made by one-third of the members of the National Assembly, or 500,000 eligible voters, (2) passage of the amendment bill will require a concurrence of two-thirds of the Assembly members, (3) the proposal should be announced to the public for a period of at least 30 days, and (4) it will have to be submitted to a national referendum and will need the approving votes of more than one half of the votes cast by more than one half of all eligible voters.

Despite the first major organized revolt within the ruling Democratic Republican Party, its purge, and President Park's own instructions against raising the issue publicly, DRP acting chairman Yun Tchi Young again discussed the subject in June and stressed the necessity of the constitutional amendment for continued economic expansion and for countering the increasing belligerence of North Korea. But opposition groups insisted again that President Park had to obey the Constitution which he himself had drafted, to serve as President for no more than two four-year terms, preventing the sort of legalized dictatorship which had prevailed under former President Rhee of the First Republic. The opposition groups, including Lee Chul Sung, a former student leader and lawmaker, united forces with a group of political figures in a joint-struggle committee against the constitutional amendment. A political storm and strong protest against the bid to amend the constitution was expected, especially from the Korean students who brought down the First Republic of President Syngman Rhee.

The traditional season of the students' discontent is from spring into summer. In July 1969, Korean students again observed this national custom, beginning their intensive demonstrations against the amendment proposal. The violence unleashed in Seoul was serious enough to indicate a lot of trouble ahead in the remaining years of President Park's second term in office. The speed of the students' reaction and their bitter fights with armed police came as a deep shock. The unprecedented failure to report the student demonstrations in the Korean newspapers was attributed to covert government pressure. Initial public apathy was in turn attributed to the unusually scanty press coverage of the riots. Most of the universities were again closed early to disperse the students for a long summer vacation. Of some 50,000 students who hit the streets in Seoul and elsewhere, none succeeded in reaching their targets. The Park government attempted to maintain law and order.

On July 7, 1969, President Park made his position clear in an open letter to the opposition NDP leader, Yu Chin O, stating that although he personally did not desire such an amendment, it was within the right of the National Assembly and the people to initiate measures toward such amendments. The NDP interpreted the statement as President Park's indirect reply to his party leaders who were actively promoting the amendment. The government party leaders justified their action with the following reasons: (1) Park had demonstrated his ability to control the armed forces, the most powerful single force in South Korea, (2) there was no guarantee that the opposition would not enact a retroactive law which would be used to condemn the 1961 military revolution, nor was it certain that South Korea would not regress to a revolving-door type change of government if the opposition party were to take over, (3) Park's government had achieved rather remarkable economic developments, despite some corruption, and (4) it is perfectly legal to change the constitution.

The New Democratic Party officials presented these arguments in opposition to the proposed amendment: (1) Korea has not yet had a peaceful transfer of power and the people around President Park would keep him forever, thereby effectively ending a two-party system; (2) the ruling government party has been in power too long thus creating the corruption; (3) the constitution had been drafted by the very people now trying to amend it; and (4) Korea's economic development remains "superficial," benefitting only a very small group, and Korea's vast international monetary obligations will have to be born by "innocent" future generations.

President Park presided over a five-pronged political power complex composed of the Cabinet of Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon, the DRP under acting chairman Yung Tchi Young, the National Assembly under Speaker Rhee Hyo Sang, the tightly-knit "inner cabinet" of the presidential secretariat headed by Park's "chief of staff," Lee Hu Rak, and the influential Korean Central Intelligence Agency under director Kim Hyung Wook. Publicly balancing the image of political stability, military security and economic progress, President Park was surrounded by some corrupt aides who were channelling an undue share of the fruits of economic success into the hands of politically cooperative entrepreneurs.

Park's managers faced bitter, last-ditch opposition from a group of 20-odd deputies loyal to Kim Jong Pil.

Other party elements also appeared to balk at the amendment. President Park was keeping his own position open-ended in the face of this ambivalence in his party. Park's party caucus shocked many members, when it demanded President Park to fire Korea's CIA director, Kim Hyung Wook, and his Chief-Secretary, Lee Hu Rak. President Park avoided this issue until after the assembly vote and the referendum and asked his party members for a vote of confidence on the present government. President Park himself was helping out by calling in former DRP chairman, Kim Jon Pil, who still wielded considerable influence, to enlist his support. As if that were not enough trouble for the ruling party leaders, a group of dissident DRP members again protested that the leaders failed to meet the five conditions set by many party members before they would support the constitutional amendment bill. The conditions included demands for dismissal of some powerful government officials and leaders of the ruling party, for elimination of corruption and irregularities in government and for discontinuance of CIA political surveillance. President Park promised to accept the conditions, but wanted a free choice of timing.

First of all, President Park appointed Oh Chi Sung as Secretary General of his party, replacing Kil Chae Ho, one of the strongest advocates of a third term for Park. This was to placate a dissident group, the Kim Jong Pil and the non-mainstream faction in the government ruling party. It was an effort by Park to insure party unity and wider support for the constitutional amendment. Meanwhile, a drive was underway among the DRP members and the independents in the National Assembly to collect written pledges in support of a third term for President Park.

President Park maintained a publicly non-committal attitude on the long-discussed proposals for the amendment, thus averting danger of campus riots at least until after the summer vacation. President Park chose July 26, 1969, to remove the constitutional provision which limited him to two terms and converted it from a test of his intentions to a trial of his achievement. By declaring the proposed national referendum on the amendment to be a judgment on his government and by promising to resign if he failed to win a majority, President Park captured the chief weapon of his opponents. With a speed and boldness that surprised his opposition, President Park gave his own ruling government party a green light to amend the Constitution. His timely announcement before American Secretary of State William P. Rogers' arrival on July 31 and before his visit to the

United States to see President Richard Nixon in California on August 22, gave two advantages to President Park. First, it served to answer any opposition charges that his move was dictated by Washington and second, it lent the prestige of the two visits to the amendment campaign.

On August 9, 1969, the government put to public notice the proposed amendment bill, following an extraordinary cabinet session by less than an hour, after the National Assembly had sent it to the government, skipping the house report. The government party was to vote on the bill after a notice of no less than 30 days, or September 7, and put it to a national referendum within 60 days after Assembly approval. When the ruling party tried to introduce the bill in the Assembly, 35 members of the opposition NDP built a blockade around the speaker's chair. Accordingly, Assembly Speaker Rhee Hyo Sang bypassed formal introduction of the bill and sent it to the cabinet for a 30-day public notice. The bill was signed by 122 Assemblymen, 5 more than required for passage. Of these, 108 were DRP members, 11 were from splinter groups, and three were from the opposition. One-time DRP Chairman, Chung Ku Yong, was the only member who refused to sign the bill.

The proposed amendment called for: (1) allowing a president to run for three consecutive terms, (2) increasing the number of legislators to 250, (3) paving the way for lawmakers to hold cabinet posts concurrently, and (4) requiring two-thirds of the legislators to initiate an impeachment motion against a chief executive. The core of the amendment bill was to pave the way for not only the incumbent president, but also all presidents in the future, to seek three consecutive terms. The new bill used the word "consecutive" so as to put an end to the argument concerning the existing provision, "the President may be reelected only for one more term." In line with the new provision, the president may repeatedly hold 12-year terms, after skipping a term, or resigning in the middle of a term.

South Korea's major opposition party, the New Korea Party, dissolved itself on September 10 in an emergency move it hoped would help block passage of the constitutional amendment bill. The action, aimed at depriving the party's three dissident legislators of their parliamentary membership, was taken at an emergency national convention at the residence of the party chairman, Yu Jin O. Before its dissolution, the opposition party expelled 44 party lawmakers, all except the three "turncoat" members. Under the

constitution, National Assembly members lose their seats when their parties are dissolved, but those expelled from their parties can remain in the Assembly as independents. The three dissident members expressed support for President Park's bid to run for a third straight term in 1971.

The opposition party's desperate move reduced the number of Assembly seats from 174 to 171, and also reduced to 114 the number of votes needed to pass the proposed amendment bill. Another South Korean opposition party, the Masses Party which has two members in the Assembly, decided to dissolve itself to evict one member from the legislature who supported Park's third term. The bill was originally sponsored by 122 lawmakers, including 14 who were other than members of the ruling DRP. With the four members ousted from the Assembly, the number of lawmakers supporting the bill was reduced to 117, only three more than the minimum two-thirds majority required to pass the amendment bill.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, September 13, 1969, while opposition members staged a sleep-in around the rostrum of the National Assembly in a desperate final attempt to physically obstruct the balloting, supporters of President Park, kept intact in three mid-town hotels, slipped through a back alley behind a darkened assembly annex building across the street from the Assembly Chamber and were ushered, one by one, into a little-used service entrance manned by plain-clothesmen. Many law-makers arrived with the required special ballot papers already signed and the meeting was confined until it was executed. In the heavily curtained committee room, Park's 122 Assembly members, eight more than the required two-thirds majority, met secretly and within half an hour voted their approval of the controversial constitutional amendment bill to permit President Park to run for a third term in 1971.

Since President Park stepped down from his presidential pedestal in July 1969, and donned his brass knuckles for the amendment power struggle, his prestige has declined considerably. The move made him the focus for criticism often directed more broadly in the past at the government structure as a whole. In the politically conscious cities, especially Seoul, President Park faced a sullen and cynical atmosphere. The bad aftertaste left by the amendment vote also predisposed the public to accept opposition charges that President Park was seeking to establish lifetime rule in South Korea.

As in many underdeveloped nations, corruption has been almost a way of life in South Korea and eliminating it is an arduous process. At the grassroots level, underpaid civil service employees in the bureaucratic government are vulnerable to many temptations, and underpaid teachers likewise have been prone to accept favors from students' parents for advancing individual pupils in the very highly competitive entrance examination system. The Park Government, like its predecessors, has been periodically rocked by scandal, although President Park himself is still personally exempt from any suspicion or charges of corruption. Under opposition pressure, President Park has instructed that the corrupted officials should be dismissed. The government has investigated the corruption and acknowledged gross profiteering by big business monopolies and companies assisted by the government in attracting foreign investment. However, these incidents have not shaken the people's faith in the government DRP in its policy of promoting big business, industry, and foreign investment as the swiftest means of spurring economic development under the Third Republic.

The opposition NDP reorganized without the three dissidents who supported the amendment. The NDP, though, was unsuccessful in blocking the Assembly passage of the third-term amendment. Much skepticism was being expressed as to how well the NDP was prepared to fight the elections. Their ranks remained seriously divided into many factions barely held together by a tenuous balance of power at the top. Their national organization was no match for that of the government party and NDP funds were virtually non-existent. Above all, the NDP's prolonged indulgence in internal power struggles had utterly failed to inspire either the farmers or the politically influential urban population. Furthermore, while President Park can point to eight years of economic expansion and growing prestige abroad, the opposition New Democratic Party has no potential candidate of similar stature.

It is the lack of a commanding alternative to President Park that primarily accounts for the fact that the Korean students who are currently battling the police, have not, so far, been joined by either their professors or the citizens who took to the streets in the crucial stages of the revolutionary movement against Dictator Syngman Rhee. With no clear prospect for an early change, only a hardy few are ready to risk falling afoul of an increasingly efficient police and intelligence apparatus reaching deeply into the

universities, the press, business, and even private homes. Most South Koreans who rejoice at the per capita income increase from $92 in 1963 to $195 in 1969, seem to put the highest priority on economic progress under President Park's strong leadership. Democratic principle is of lesser importance, except to intellectuals, students, and members of the opposition NDP.

Though various ministers have been replaced under President Park, the Cabinet headed by Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon has preserved unusual continuity and steady government. Dr. Chung, a former general, has held office for more than half a decade, as both a dynamic diplomat and a brilliant administrator. He joined the government party to provide for close coordination between the Executive and the ruling party in the National Assembly.

Though the Park Government is nominally civilian, the ministers are primarily retired generals, and 25 former generals are members of the National Assembly. Many of the 29 Korean ambassadors abroad are former high-ranking military personnel. In addition, three-fourths of the state-run enterprises and companies supported by government investment have retired generals as their presidents.

On October 11, 1969, President Park termed the 1970's as "a decade of mission" to place Korea's hard-won stability on a lasting basis. In that speech he stressed the need to insure the administration's continuance until 1975 by amending the Constitution, and he appealed to the people to renew their confidence in the government by supporting the amendments. Government party leaders contended that the opposition party had no ability to organize a national coalition government as an alternative to the proposed amendments. Despite the opposition's drive to lure votes and an all-out campaign against the amendment bill, the election was in substance linked not only with President Park's attractiveness from the voters' standpoint of a desire for stability and continued economic growth, but also the advantages of patronage and persuasion that any incumbent government enjoys. President Park had all of South Korea's political and economic power and, during the referendum campaign, he showed no qualms about using it. His party faced no lack of funds since most of the country's business needs President Park's approval.

The single major factor working against the President in the voting was a general reluctance to tamper with the Constitution, for fear that this might open the way to perpetual one-man rule in the style of the late Syngman Rhee of the First Republic. President Park, however, pledged to step down after his third term--presuming he is reelected in 1971--and he made the voting a matter of confidence by threatening immediate resignation should the Constitutional amendment be defeated. The threat was reiterated by Park's supporters who implied that if Park quit, the military might have to seize power to forestall national chaos. The leader of the mainstream faction of the ruling DRP, Kim Jong Pil, finally gave his public endorsement of President Park's action and began campaigning for the amendments by visiting over two dozen cities, asserting the need of another term for President Park to lay the foundation for national prosperity.

President Park easily emerged as the victor in the referendum as Korean voters were left with no safe alternative. President Park scored a landslide victory on his amendment proposal, receiving 7,553,655 or 67.5 per cent of the votes in the national referendum of October 17, 1969. Although he gained a 2:1 victory, it should be noted that the aye votes amounted to only 50 per cent of the eligible votes and that Seoul and Kwnagju voted against President Park. Only 77.1 per cent of South Korea's 15 million eligible voters participated, making the turnout the lowest of the last three national elections. From his home province, North Kyungsang, he received the highest voter turnout, 84.8 per cent, and also the highest rate of aye votes, 78.2 per cent. This election was the most orderly national voting in history, despite the opposition charges that the referendum was marred with unprecedentedly widespread irregularities and the influence of money on the campaign. The referendum was estimated to have cost South Korea about $20 million; the government party's expenditure was about $18 million and the opposition party's efforts about $2 million. With the majority of South Korean voters supporting the constitutional amendment, President Park's reelection in 1971 seems almost a certainty. Commenting on the referendum's outcome, the New York Times on October 24, 1969, in an editorial "Retrogression in South Korea" stated that the President must also make unmistakably clear that he will fulfill his pledge not to seek to perpetuate his rule beyond the third term he is almost certain to win.

A major reshuffle in the government and the ruling party was expected as soon as all Cabinet members and some other influential leaders submitted their resignations after the referendum to give the President a free hand in his efforts to revitalize post-referendum state affairs. The shakeup of the government and party leadership was discussed at a weekly breakfast meeting between the Cabinet and the party at the Blue House. Attending the meeting presided over by President Park were Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon, Home Minister Park Kyung Won, Chief Secretary Lee Hu Rak, CIA Director Kim Hyung Wook, acting chairman Yun Tchi Young of the government party, party secretary-general Oh Chi Sung, floor leader Kim Teak Soo, and DRP finance committee chairman Kim Song Kon.

Immediately after the referendum, President Park pledged to intensify his campaign of national modernization in his message of thanks to the voters. On October 22, 1969, Park replaced Lee Hu Rak, the presidential chief secretary known as "the premier of the Inner Cabinet" for over five years, and Kim Hyung Wook, director of the all powerful CIA for six years. During this period, the CIA had become the main target of alleged charges of corruption, political repression, and influence peddling. Both of these men had been regarded as leading rivals of Kim Jong Pil, former strongman of the ruling Democratic Republic Party, who is still hopeful of being Park's successor in 1975. Their replacement pleased DRP members, especially Kim's supporters, who demanded the dismissal of the two top aides as a precondition to their support of the constitutional amendment in which Kim had played a key role in winning over a number of DRP dissidents.

The dismissal of the two top men also proved that President Park is confident to stand on the institutions and organizations of the government rather than rely solely on the personal loyalty of individuals. The Cabinet led by Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon resigned for the benefit of President Park's reshuffle, but Premier Chung and the key ministers were reappointed except for the shifting of six ministers. Some of the long-term Cabinet members, generals and lesser officials are being replaced to reform his government and many who had openly criticized him are also being removed from power. The new cabinet members are economic and financial experts capable of tightening up currency and other regulations which need attention. President Park has urged the nation's civil servants to produce conspicuous results in the current campaign against irregular practice

and corruption. Now that the referendum is over, the next big problem which should be confronted is inflation. In preparation for the 1971 presidential and general elections, President Park is moving forward to meet popular desires and aspirations for reform of state administration with a stepped-up plan to root out corruption and injustice.

Meanwhile, the opposition NDP, charging the irregularities of the constitutional amendment bill and nullifying the referendum, boycotted the National Assembly session for the national budget approval, and Kim Dae Jung of the NDP announced to seek party nomination to run in the presidential election in 1971. This followed former floor leader Kim Young Sam's first announcement. After Chairman Yu Ching O submitted the resignation of his party chairmanship in Tokyo due to health reasons, there was a dispute for the NDP chairmanship between Dr. Chyung Il Hyoung and Yu Jin San, but a main-stream leader, Yu Jin San was elected the NDP chairman at its convention on January 27, 1970. The 70th session of the National Assembly was held with no opposition member present, and the 432-billion-won national budget for 1970 was approved. The government and opposition parties have consistently tried to come to an agreement by starting formal interparty negotiations with a view toward recovering the normal functioning of the law-making body.

President Nixon's invitation to visit the United States in 1969 and President Park's state visit to South-east Asia in early 1966 added to President Park's prestige in Korea. President Park is able to control South Korea with the cabinet of Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon, a brilliant administrator, and the ruling Democratic Republican Party in the National Assembly, which has the Republic of Korea's Army support.

(4) The Future[18]

Koreans often say that while everyone talks about politics, no constructive action results. The people apparently expect little from the government, relying instead on their own efforts. There are several areas in which they consistently display sensitivity: the rising cost of living, any attempt to compromise national self-esteem, the problem of governmental leadership, and the continued division of the country. General frustrations resulting from these factors in turn have spawned a sense of insecurity which has become more or less institutionalized in the national life in South Korea.

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[18]U.S. Army, Op. Cit., p. 256.

In South Korea, the military establishment has emerged as the major political force, mainly as a result of the failure of a civilian party politics and the absence of an effective non-military counter-balancing force. The student involvement with political activity was motivated by varying factors, reflecting the prevailing mood of the public. They have successfully demonstrated the ability to act as a cohesive force, but for a limited time only. Newspapermen play an appreciable role,out of proportion to their numbers,in shaping the political climate.

Since 1960 one of the popularly held political axioms has been that a government cannot be expected to endure for long without support from the military, the students, and the press. Political events in South Korea, since then, tend to bear out such a view. There are indications, however, that the peasants may receive increasing attention in the future electoral contests.

Compared to many other emerging nations, South Korea has the unusually high literacy rate of 85 percent for all members of the population over 12 years of age.[19] This factor - combined with national awakening during the period of Japanese domination, territorial division in 1945, social and economic dislocations precipitated by the Korean War, holding of electoral contests, and absence of traditional social barriers - contributes to a high degree of awareness of issues and events among the population.

The high degree of awareness may be partially explained by an ever-widening gap between the level of popular expectation and the inadequacy of governmental services. The absence, in an appreciable degree, of any popular disapproval of the student uprising of 1960, and the military coup of 1961, may have stemmed, at least, in part from the people's general dissatisfaction with existing conditions and with the performance of governmental authorities.

In South Korea two main factors have tended to mold the popular concept of an ideal government leadership - the constant crisis atmosphere resulting from the perennial Communist threat from North Korea and the widespread corruptive practices in many sectors of society. In this situation, the people have been searching for leadership that is not only "firm and effective" but also "clean and sincere."

[19] U. S. Army, Op. Cit., p. 256.

The government in South Korea is greatly handicapped by both the internal and external circumstances in which it has had to operate. There is one area in which the government could bring about substantial improvement, namely, the integrity of leadership and the elimination of corruption. Unless a group of genuinely unselfish but firm leaders should emerge, however, it is unlikely that many people would emotionally identify themselves with the government.

In short, inasmuch as South Korea's political problems are largely economic, only "unification" will solve all difficulties. It is because prospects appear dim for the "miracle of an ideal leadership" or of increasing and effectively utilizing foreign aid. The unity is imperative because the South Korean people have a sense of oneness with their northern compatriots in terms of history, language, culture, and economy. Without re-unification, all in all, it will be difficult to have an effective government and healthy political development in Korea.

MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN SOUTH KOREA

I. AFTER LIBERATION AND DURING THE U.S. MILITARY GOVERNMENT (1945-48)

Korean People's Party (Yeo Un Hyeong)
National Party (An Jae Hong)

South Korean Labor Party (Pak Heon-Young)
Revolution Party (Kim Won-bong)

1. Korean Democratic Party (Song Chin Woo)
2. National Assembly for Independence (Syngman Rhee)

II. DURING THE FIRST REPUBLIC (1948-60)

1. Liberal Party (Syngman Rhee)
2. Democratic National Party (Kim Sung Soo)
   Progressive Party (Cho Bong Am)

III. DURING THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1960-61)

1. Democratic Party (Chang Myun)
2. New People's Party (Yun Po Sun)

IV. DURING THE MILITARY COUP (1961)

Political parties were disbanded.

V. DURING THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1961-65)

1. Democratic Republican Party (Park Chung Hee; Kim Chong Pil)

3. Civil Rule Party (Yun Po Sun)
2. Democratic Party (Pak Sun Cheun)

2. Democratic (people's) Party (Pak Sun Chun) - 2 & 3 merged

3. New Korea Party (Yun Po Sun)

(1 is a majority party, 2 a minority party, and 3 is formed out of 2.)

ORGANIZATIONS

Keunkuk Junbi Wiwon Hoe (National Foundation Council)
Inmin Kongwha Kuk (People's Republic of Korea)
Hankuk Minju Tang (Korean Democratic Party)
Tiahan Mikuk Imsi Cheungpu (Korea Government-in-exile)
Hankuk Minju Tang (Korean Democratic Party)
Toglip Chokseung Hoe (Society for the Rapid Realization of Independence)
Hankuk Toglip Tang (Korean Independence Party)
Kukmin Tang (National Party)
Sinjin Tang (New Progressive Party)
Nam Choseun Nodong Tang (South Korean Labor Party)
Hyukmyung Tang (Revolution Party)
Mikuk Kunjeung Cheung (U. S. Military Government)
Ipbeup Won (Legislative Assembly)
Kukjae Yeonhap Wiweon Hoe (U. N. Commission)
Kukhoe (National Assembly)
Taihan Kukmin Tang (Korean Nationalist Party)
Minju Kukmin Tang (Democratic National Party)
Jayu Tang (Liberal Party)
Minju Tang (Democratic Party)
Jinbo Tang (Progressive Party)
Sin Min Tang (New Democratic Party)
Minju Kongwha Tang (Democratic Republican Party)
Minjeung Tang (Civil Rule Party)
Jayu Minju Tang (Liberal Democratic Party)
Kukmin Ei Tang (Party of the People)
Minjung Tang (Minjung Party)
Sin Han Tang (New Korea Party)

c. National Defense

(1) Branches of the Armed Forces

The Army of the Republic of Korea (ROK Army)

The occupation forces of the United States Military Government, which took over the southern half of Korea from the Japanese colonial authority, established a National Defense Command in November 1945. The National Defense Command had as one of its sub-structures, a Military Administration Bureau, consisting of Army and Navy Departments. The Three Power Allied Conference in Moscow, dealing as it did with Korea's fate, heightened the intensity of the struggle between the Communists and the anti-Communist forces. The consequent social disorder was even more aggravated by the existence of private military organizations provoking bloody incidents. Disturbed by this disorderly trend, the Military Government banned all existing military and semi-military groups and established the South Korean National Constabulary. "This Constabulary embarked on the organization of a defense force on a regimental level as its first job. Also established was the South Korean National Constabulary Officer Training School. The National Defense Command, which had been renamed as the National Defense Headquarters, in the meantime, was christened again as the Department of National Defense."[1]

The establishment of the Government of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948, meant a change in the character of the Constabulary forces from occupational to independent status. Accordingly, it became known as the National Army. The Coast Guard likewise started out on a new career as the Navy. These developments gave new power to the Department of National Defense to better the already substantially improved quality of the defense forces. In 1948, the Armed Forces Organization Act came into effect. Under this Act, the Army Headquarters was established and fourteen branches were set up under this command.

At present, the Republic of Korea Army is the fifth largest Army in the world, and the third largest in the Free camp. It is a well-trained, disciplined, and well-equipped fighting force. Its progress since 1950 has been extraordinary. However, when the Republic of Korea was invaded

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[1]Kim, Pyangul, "Army" in Hagwonsa, Korea, Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, p. 210.

from the North, her forces were equipped for internal security only. Just two regiments had completed battalion level training. The Army had 95,000 men, 65,000 of whom were adequately trained. They possessed light artillery pieces and mortars, and had no tanks, medium or heavy artillery, heavy mortars, or tactical aircraft. There was just a skeleton Coast Guard and one Marine regiment training on Chejudo. The Air Force had only 24 operational planes and none carried armament. During the early days of fighting, ROK soldiers with less than 10 days of training were sent to the front line. Entire companies were made up of soldiers with no formal military background. ROK divisions not only stopped the North Koreans by themselves in many areas, but in the midst of the gallant fighting these units were rejuvenated, fully equipped, and molded into the pattern of a US division on the battlefield.

As the war progressed, a Field Training Command was organized for retraining and strengthening the ROK divisions. There, eight weeks of training from individual basic training through battalion tactics was carried out. Recruit training gradually increased to 16 weeks before assignment to units or technical schools.

Though battle hardened, the ROK Army still needs advice and assistance in training, logistics, and operational planning. The US Army, Advisory Group, Korea, has highly qualified, experienced US officers stationed with major ROK Army headquarters and serving with field units to fill this need. The ROK Army has been organized and trained primarily to fight a Korean type war, for obvious reasons. It is organized into corps and divisions similar to those of the U.S. Army in the later stages of the 1950-1953 conflict. These larger units contain artillery, armor, and aircraft, but not quite in the quantity found in similar US units. The backbone of each ROK infantry division is its riflemen. There are 3 regiments of these in each division, along with normal artillery and armor support. Each regiment has 3 rifle battalions. A battalion contains 32 officers and 777 enlisted men in a headquarters and HQ company (9 + 86), a heavy weapons company (5 + 145), and 3 rifle companies (6 + 182) each. The heavy weapons company is equipped with 8 medium machine guns and six 81 mm mortars. Each ROK rifle platoon has an HQ (1 + 5), a weapons squad (0 + 9), and 3 rifle squads (0 + 9) each. The weapons squad has medium machine guns and 3.5" rocket launchers. Each rifle squad has an automatic rifle and 8 infantry rifles; two of the latter are equipped with grenade launchers.

The ROK Army also uses a number of US M1 carbines to arm men not primarily fighting with their personal arms, like gunners, assistant gunners, and ammunition carriers. Officers and HQ personnel also usually carry carbines; there are 303 carbines in each rifle battalion. The ROK Army does not think much of pistols, not even the powerful U.S. Cal. 45 which they issue sparingly. During the Korean War, all ROK weapons and ammunition were brought in and replaced when seriously defective. This situation has many disadvantages. Today, these arms are kept in good shape in ROK arsenals established for the purpose. "The arms can be rebuilt and new parts added as necessary. Completely new weapons can be assembled in some instances from components made in Korea. South Korean industry is presently producing ammunition for them all. The ROK Army is not entirely independent of American weapons support, but could now fight for several months without it."[2]

In November 1951, the Korean Army Training Center was established. The following month a command and general staff college was formed to broaden the military background of selected ROK officers. The first class graduated in June 1952. Here cadets complete a course similar to that of West Point. Today the ROK Army has more than 500,000 men under arms, organized into 18 combat-ready divisions. These combat forces belong to the First ROK Army. The Second ROK Army handles reserve affairs. With the rear areas divided into four military districts, it is prepared to mobilize additional divisions if fighting breaks out. The ROK soldier is a master of camouflage, and ingenious in doing much with little material. He is a good marksman and takes good care of his equipment. He sleeps without a cot on a heated floor, as his ancestors have done for centuries. His basic ration is rice and barley, supplemented by a secondary ration of bean paste, soy sauce, radishes, hot peppers, vegetables, seafood, beef, and pork. His daily 3,200 to 3,800 calorie diet costs only 26.5 cents. The South Korean government boosted its military pay up by 100 percent in 1966, which will bring less than a dollar into the pocket of a private each month. Under the new scale a full general will be making 53,000 won (about $196) monthly, about a 30 percent increase, while a second lieutenant's pay will go up to 8,500 (about $32) from the current 5,300 won. A private who now receives 130 won (48 cents) will be raised to 260 won (96 cents). Each ROK soldier, volunteer or conscriptee, must serve 32 months. He may enlist at 17 and is eligible for the draft at 21.

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[2]Jack Weller, American Rifleman, p. 54.

Katusas (Korean Augmentation to the U.S. Army.) More than 10,000 Republic of Korea soldiers serve with US combat and support units. These men are called Katusas. This program began as a grim necessity in the early days of the Korean conflict. Thousands of US troops poured into the Pusan Perimeter, and to gain flexibility and replace casualties, in August 1950 ROK recruits were channeled into the US units. These recruits proved to be both a tactical and psychological advantage. These units were familiar with the terrain, conditioned to the climate, expert at detecting enemy camouflage, and masters at patrolling and scouting. They also provided continuity to units when a rotation program was implemented for US personnel. "A buddy system pairing Katusas and US soldiers sped the learning process. Psychologically, Katusas thwarted enemy propaganda based on racialism, nationalism, and religion. They united the ROK-US efforts as they worked with US soldiers. Today, the mission of the Katusas program is two-fold: to increase the operating capability of US units through the use of Republic of Korea Army personnel; and to provide ROKA with well-trained specialists and skilled technicians."[3] The Katusas program is composed entirely of ROKA enlisted men assigned and integrated into US units. The term is normally 18 months during which the Katusa has a chance to serve in almost any Military occupational specialty our Army offers in Korea. His pay is the same as ROK Army soldiers. As an average figure, one soldier in six is a Katusa. Due to the differing requirements, the percentage is higher in some units than in others.

Katusas are an integral part of the unit to which they are assigned. They live in the same barracks, eat the same food, and perform their duties and training with the US men. The language problem causes difficulty, and cultural and social adjustments are necessary. But the benefits far outweigh the handicaps, which are being reduced daily. The program binds the two countries together in understanding and work. The network of free world forces may be called upon at any moment to fight in close cooperation against the Red tyranny. The US soldier, in turn, who has served with a Katusa has gained knowledge of Korea.

The ROK NAVY

With the nation surrounded on three sides by sea, liberated Korea was faced with the formidable task of protecting

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[3]Information Office, U.S. Forces in Korea, Korea, Freedom's Frontier, p. 34.

its territorial waters from any outside threat. Most keenly aware of this need was a group of farsighted and marine-minded men around Shon Wonil,who later was to become the first Commander-in-Chief of the Korean Navy. This group called itself the Marine Affairs Group. The Group was incorporated into the Marine Bureau, a branch of the United States Military government, to form a Coast Guard. On November 11, 1945, the newly organized Coast Guard took upon itself the duties of defending Korean coasts from any unlawful violation, halting smuggled merchandise and rescuing vessels in distress. The Coast Guard was put under the jurisdiction of the National Defense Command of the Military Government in December of the same year. It was thus organized as the official naval organization with the backing of a Military Government ordinance. "It had two 100 ton class and one 40 ton class ships along with a few smaller boats. With the change of the National Defense Command into the Department of National Defense in June of 1946, the Coast Guard was officially designated as the Korean Coast Guard. The unit began to build its sea power, and on April 17, 1950 it succeeded in completing the construction of a 300 ton class ship, christened KSS Chungmugong. Chungmugong No. 2 was to follow in May 1951. The Coast Guard also constructed three hydroplanes around this period and imported a number of ships from abroad to establish six bases in the strategically located ports of Inchon, Kunsan, Mokpo, Pusan, Pohang and Mukho. The total strength then was 6 LCI's, 1 YO, 11 JMS's and 19 AMS's. The Coast Guard launched its new career as the Navy with the establishment of the Naval Chief of Command, Chiefs of Staff Operations and Vessels Department.

"In June 1949, the Navy organized the Committee for Ship Purchase Funds in an effort to raise enough cash for four PG type ships, from the United States. The outbreak of war saw the ROK Navy with 70 ships, large and small, and a manpower complement of 7,000. From June 25, 1950, the first day of the war, the Navy blockaded the enemy east and west coasts in cooperation with the UN seapower. It also helped the ground forces by bombardments of enemy held territories and supply movements. The Navy sank a 1000 ton class ship carrying an enemy landing unit of 6,000 men, 20 miles east of Pusan. September 15, 1950 marked the historic Inchon landing which changed the tide of the war. A total of 206 ships, including the main body of the US 7th Fleet participated."[4] At

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[4]Hagwonsa, Op. Cit., p. 215.

about the same time, on the east coast, another landing operation was carried out at Changsadon. The Navy retook Pohang, and on August 19 was in command of Mukho close to the 38th Parellel. By the time of the Inchon landing, all the southern Korean ports once taken by the Communists were again in the hands of the Republic of Korea Navy. With the rapidly advancing ground forces, the Navy forced the war to the north both on the east and west coasts up to the time of the Chinese Communist intervention. With the general Allied retreat before the new enemy invasion, the ROK Navy, in cooperation with the UN seapower, succeeded in withdrawing hundreds of thousands of refugees from Wonsan. The total number of men, troops, and refugees, that the Navy helped to bring to safety reached 331,000 during the early days of the Chinese intervention. With the opening of the armistice talks in June 1951, the Navy concentrated its efforts on bombardments of the enemy's coastal areas and numerous supply operations.

"The Chief of Naval Operations commands all naval units and installations, but operational control of the fleet is exercised by the Commander, United States Naval Forces, Korea, who is subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command. The small size of the Navy limits its capabilities mainly to coastal patrolling, to minesweeping, and to small scale amphibious operations. Its headquarters is at Seoul and its principal base is at Chinhae, the site of its supply, storage, maintenance, and training facilities."[5] After the signing of the armistice, the Navy embarked on a vigorous reorganization program aimed at strengthening its order of command and increasing its effectiveness. In 1951, the then existing three Task Forces were incorporated into the First Fleet. The Fleet was renamed in 1953 as the Republic of Korea Fleet. In June, 1955, the Naval Amphibious Operations Corps and Training Unit were born. The same month also saw the birth of the Naval Staff College. The ROK Navy took over control of the seas surrounding the Korean peninsula from the United Nations Command in March of 1955. The Naval Training Center at Chinhae conducts a school in which all enlisted men receive three months of recruit training. Further training is given in schools offering courses in radio, quartermaster, and engineering subjects. Additional schools provide training in cargo handling, fire fighting, and damage control on ships of the fleet.

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[5]U. S. Department of the Army, U.S. Army Area Handbook for Korea, p. 580.

The ROK Air Force

The Republic of Korea Air Force is a tactical air defense organization which serves to provide air support to the ground forces and the defense of skies in the event of an invasion. Although small in the number of its fighter, interceptor and reconnaissance aircrafts, the ROK Air Force is comprised of highly qualified pilots and support personnel who have maintained the reputation they gained for courageous performance during the Korean War. When the North Korean Communists launched their attack on June 25, 1950, the newly born ROK Air Force was seriously handicapped because it was without fighter aircraft. Through the early days of the Korean War, ROKAF pilots displayed unusual courage in doing what they could to weaken the Communist aggressors. They flew unarmed aircrafts on reconnaissance and propaganda missions, and at the same time dropped homemade bombs by hand on the invaders. It was in the midst of such national crisis that the ROK Air Force was supplied with 10 United States F-51 Mustang fighters. They then provided close air support for friendly ground forces and bombed strategic targets in North Korea. Since July 27, 1953, the date of the signing of the armistice which ended the fighting in the Korean War, the ROK Air Force has developed into an organization patterned after the US Air Force.

Its primary weapon, the F86 Sabre Jet, was scheduled to be augmented in 1965 with the supersonic jet F-5 Freedom Fighter. The ROK Air Force has three tactical units, the 1st, 10th, and 11th Fighter Wings. These wings are supported by the Air Material Depot at Taegu, the Air Technical Training Center at Taejon, and the Air Force Flying School at Kimhae. The ROKAF Medical Service and the Weather Service also serve invaluable support functions. Part of the ROKAF Medical Service is the Aeromedical Center at Seoul. It has a physiological training facility which has the best high altitude pressure chamber equipment in the Far East. Other units of the Medical Service are hospital and dispensary facilities established at all ROKAF installations. The Weather Service maintains weather stations in the Republic of Korea at locations which are adequate for maintaining current weather observations and reports. The capital city of Seoul is the site of the ROKAF Headquarters Building and an attractive campus containing the Air Academy and the Air Command and Staff College. Because the ROK Air Force is small, the Air Academy graduates only a class of approximately 70 cadets annually. Its curriculum and training are

similar to that offered by the US Air Force Academy. The highest academic, physical and moral standards are enforced for these cadets. Only after an Air Academy cadet has been graduated with a BS degree and commissioned in the ROK Air Force is he eligible to enter into pilot training.

In 1961 an ROKAF Combat Air Command was established with headquarters at Osan Air Base. This command was given the responsibility for the unified and effective command of all tactical, surveillance, rescue, air transport and reconnaissance units in the ROK Air Force. The ROK Air Force is also an integral unit of the United Nations Command.

The ROK Marine Corps

The ROK Marine Corps was organized on April 15, 1949, and officially started its career on May 5 of the same year with a Presidential Act. The total strength of the Corps then was 300 officers and men. The organization of the Corps was first proposed by Admiral Son Wonil, then Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, and other military leaders who felt that a special branch of the armed forces specializing in amphibious operations was highly desirable after the Communist revolt in the port city of Yosu in November 1948. The Corps' first Commandant was Maj. Gen. Sin Hyonjun, then Lieutenant Colonel.

In October 1952, the First Marine Combat Group was organized, supported by an artillery battalion and tank and engineer companies. The First Combat Group was composed of the 1st Marine Regiment, with a headquarters and service company, a 4.2 in. mortar company, a transport company, a tank company, a medical company, a military police company, a reconnaissance company, a signal repair and maintenance team, and ordnance repair and vehicle maintenance platoons. After the Armistice, the First Marine Combat Group was enlarged into a brigade with the addition of a brigade headquarters battalion and service, medical, and transport battalions. The newly created Marine Brigade instituted a program for training and improvement of combat effectiveness with a view to further expansion, the promise for which was given by the ROK-US military agreement signed in December 1954. With the incorporation of the 11th Regiment and Tank and Engineer Battalions, the Brigade was officially redesignated as the 1st Marine Landing Division on March 15, 1955. The expansion and weapons modernization program was continued. The 1st Landing Division was subsequently reinforced

with the addition of an air observation unit, a newly organized artillery regiment, and a signal company. The Marine Island Security Unit was officially activated with the appointment of Colonel Kim as the unit commander in December 1951. Its principal theater of operation was Paengnyongdo, Yonpyongdo and other small islands off the west coast; but one battalion was assigned to the east coast. Following the Armistice, the garrison units on Sukto along the west coast north of the armistice line were withdrawn to Chinhae, to be incorporated into the 2nd Regiment. The one battalion strength deployed on Paengnyongdo and Yonpyongdo Islands was reorganized and designated the Western Coast Island Unit, and again as the Marine Fleet Unit in the course of the equipment modernization program. It went through another reorganization program in January 1959, and was renamed the Fleet Marine Garrison Command in April the same year. The present Marine Island Security Unit was officially activated on January 1, 1960. The Chinhae Base Command was activated in February 1959 to provide administrative and service support for Marine contingents stationed in the vicinity.

The ROK Marine corps today is one of the best in the world. ROK Marines are now well-armed, professionally competent, and efficiently organized, even by US and British standards. Officers and men are loyal, alert, and in good physical condition. Marines are second only to the US Marines in strength and in fighting potential for marine organizations of the entire world. The ROK Marines have the same weapons as the ROK Army, but they are issued in a different way, in part because of their different organization. The Marines officially have no carbines at all in their rifle battalions. Cal. .45 pistols are issued to gunners and assistant gunners of crew-served weapons; most of the rest have MI rifles. The Marines have six 106 mm recoilless rifles per battalion (38 officers and 908 enlisted men); there are 8 rather than six 81 mm mortars. Both these types of weapons are in the Hq and Hq Company (17 + 269); there is no separate heavy weapons company. Each rifle company (7 + 213) has three 60 mm mortars, three 3.5" rocket launchers, and eight medium machine guns. Each rifle platoon (1 + 43) consists of a Hq (1 + 4) and 3 rifle squads.

The extreme difference between ROK Army and Marine opinions in regard to the MI carbine and the cal. .45 pistol can be traced to US influence to some extent. US Marines officially do not like the carbine but their dislike is also

based on important Korean considerations. The Army is primarily concerned with fighting a war like their last one. Everyone in each rifle battalion must have the capability of fighting in rugged terrain to protect the support positions and command posts on a 360° basis. The carbine is a better weapon for actual fighting than any pistol. The carbine is, however, heavier and more clumsy to carry. The Army accepts this in order to get a better secondary weapon. Although Koreans are larger than most Orientals, the carbine fits them better than the rifle.

(2) United Nations Troops in Korea

Unique Command Structure

The commander of the United States forces in Korea heads three vital commands. He is concurrently Commanding General of the Eighth US Army, Commander of the United States Forces, Korea, and Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command. To unify UN defense operations in the Republic of Korea, the Security Council passed a resolution on 7 July 1950, stating that military and other assistance contributed by UN members would be placed under a unified command headed by the United States. The resolution remains in effect today. Previously, on 27 June 1950, President Truman had ordered US air and sea forces "to give the Korean troops cover and support." Three days later he authorized the US Air Force to conduct missions on specific military targets in North Korea and furnished forces to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who was designated Commander-in-Chief of the UN forces. The UN Commander-in-Chief has operational control of the ROK armed forces, the Turkish Company and the Thai Company, and liaison groups from Australia, Canada, Ethiopia, France, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom. The Commander of US Forces in Korea establishes policy and coordinates the activities of the US armed forces in matters of joint concern. The Commanding General of the Eighth United States Army commands the Eighth Army which includes the bulk of US forces in Korea. Major US combat units consist of 1 US Corps, 2d Infantry Division, 7th Infantry Division, 38th Artillery Brigade (Air Defense) and the 4th Missile Command (Air Transportable). Numerous combat support, logistical, and administrative units provide vital support to these forces. One Corps with the two US divisions, several ROK divisions and a ROK Marine Brigade with necessary supporting forces guards the eastern portion of the DMZ. The 4th Missile Command and first ROK Army guards the rest of the DMZ. The 38th Artillery Brigade provides a surface to air missile defense for southern Korea.

Military Components

For over a decade, the eyes of the world have been focused on this Korean peninsula. It was a prime Communist target in 1950 when the Communist Korean People's Army struck southwards across the 38th Parallel. Since the signing of the Armistice Agreement on 27 July 1953, US military forces under the UNC have remained in Korea to protect the ROK, and her 27,000,000 people from further aggression. The US Eighth Army is the bulwark of the United Nations Command. Today it has a trifold mission: (1) keeping constant vigilance against possible renewed aggression, (2) maintaining facilities to provide maximum efficiency at minimum cost, and (3) assisting the ROK government in continued improvement of the ROK Army. Subordinate commands operating under the Eighth Army include 1 Corps, 2nd Infantry Division, 7th Infantry Division, 4th US Missile Command, 38th Artillery Brigade, Special Troops, Eighth US Army Rear, the US Army Advisory Group in Korea, the Eighth Army Support Command. Today, 1 Corps is a multinational army comprised of soldiers from Thailand, Turkey, The Republic of Korea, and the United States. In addition to the major US units of the 2nd Infantry Division and the 7th Infantry Division, there are four ROK Divisions and one ROK Marine Brigade.

Army Advisory Group Korea began functioning 1 July 1949. "In the year before the invasion, KMAG made a beginning. It improved and strengthened the ROK Army's organization and disposition and established an integrated training program that brought most units up through company level exercises. By setting up military schools, KMAG started to raise the quality and competence of ROKA leadership. Some progress had been made in the KMAG effort to tie in the ROKA logistical support with the country's economy."[6] The attack by the better trained North Korean forces equipped with superior artillery and supported by tanks and aircraft smashed through the ROKA defenses and disrupted most of the ROKA units in its path. The newly laid foundation cracked and crumbled under the impact, and KMAG was forced to do a hasty job of patching and improvising during the succeeding months of retreat and stabilization along the Pusan Perimeter. The present mission of the KMAG is advising and instructing the ROK Army on operations, intelligence, organization, administration, and logistics. About 200 Navy men comprise a small

[6]Robert K. Sawyer, Military Advisors in Korea, p. 187.

but important part of the US Military mission in Korea. Though small numerically, they are assigned jobs ranging from maintaining daily communications with the North Koreans in the Panmunjom area to advising the ROK Navy.

All Navy personnel serve under one of three staffs: Commander Naval Forces Korea, the Naval Advisory Group, or the United Nations Command. Their senior commander, a rear admiral, is designated as Commander Naval Forces Korea, with headquarters in Seoul, and exercises operational control over the ROK Navy. Three major Air Force Bases account for most of the Air Force's 5,000 men stationed in Korea. Kimpo, a freight terminal and port of entry, lies 15 miles southwest of Seoul and is the home of the 6175th Support Squadron. Osan, headquarters for the 314th Air Division and Korea Base Command, is 46 miles south of Seoul. It was established in 1952 during the Korean War. Kunsan, 120 miles south of Seoul, is the home of the 6175th Air Base Group which provides logistical support for tactical units of the Pacific Air Forces. All are major units under the 314th Air Division. To assure combat readiness the 314th, along with ROKAF units, flies tactical support and simulated attack missions against aggressor forces during frequent exercises and maneuvers. The Air Force mission in Korea is to conduct tactical air operations, to exercise operational control of UN and ROK air operations, to maintain support base complex, and to conduct a military assistance program to train ROKAF personnel.

3. The Socio-Economic Structure

a. The Economy

(1) Historical Development

Economic Life before 1910

For many centuries Korea had a self-sufficient economy based on agricultural production. During the three Kingdom period, Paskche imported Buddhism from China, together with the skill of agriculture, spinning, and weaving. It can be said the concept of economic production became known around this time. Later, Koryo started to communicate with Yo, Song, and Japan, and developed its industries and trade. However, all those economic activities reached medieval stage without going through feudalism. In the last part of the 19th century, especially after the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese capital started to move into the Korean peninsula, which marked the beginning of modern capitalistic economy in Korea.[1]

The Situation after 1910

Japan started to control Korea following the Kangwha Island Treaty signed in 1876, in which the Korean government promised to open two ports, Pusan and Inchon, for foreign trade. As a result of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) Korea was annexed by the Japanese Empire on August 22, 1910. This was the beginning of the new Korean economy which entered into modern capitalism as a part of the Japanese economy.

The Japanese economic developments in Korea did not aim at making the peninsula an integral whole, nor did they permit the Koreans to share in the benefits of this development. In fact, the rapid introduction of great amounts of Japanese capital started to control the entire Korean economy.

After the Land Research Ordinance and the Land Registration Law were enforced in 1911, Japanese took over all royal, municipal, and Buddhist lands on the pretext that they were not privately owned. Korean farmers were dispossessed or their lands were turned over to Japanese immigrants or to the Korean landlords. In all, two million

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[1]Suzuki, Takeo, The New Imagination of Korean Economy, p. 3.

Koreans were forced off their lands. Although the Japanese constituted only 2% of the population of Korea, 55% of the arable soil was farmed by tenants, the majority of whom were under Japanese landlords.

The Japanese agricultural policy was to increase production to the maximum, and for that purpose they set up the 15 year-plan for increasing rice production with the expense of 168,000,000 yen in 1920. However, the Korean people starved; 88% of family income was spent for food because 30% of the 15 million suk of rice produced annually was exported to Japan. Koreans received little benefit from the fishing along the ten thousand miles of coast line of the peninsula and its two hundred larger islands. Japanese-owned companies which dominated the fishing industry were concentrated in the large ports. Almost all sardines, crabmeat, oysters, clams, and dried and salted fish obtained from Korean waters were exported by Japanese merchants.

Japan's principal economic instrument was the Oriental Development Company. After its founding in 1908, it steadily increased its capital stock, ownership of land, and natural resources. Eighty-five percent of all capital invested in commerce on the peninsula was Japanese-owned, and practically all trade was with Japan. The practical effect of this policy was the gradual extension of Japanese ownership or control over most aspects of Korea's economic life, and the establishment of discriminatory business relations favoring Japan.

Japan's economic policy in Korea prior to 1931 was twofold: (1) to develop Korea as a source of raw material for her own industries, and (2) to use it as a market for surplus industrial products.

The real wealth of the country such as iron, magnesium, gold, coal, and food supplies, was steadily drained for the payment of a stream of cheap merchandise that flowed in, chiefly household equipment. The Japanese firms of Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nissan, and Noguchi controlled all coal, light-metal, aluminum, magnesium, tungsten, cement, lumber, and oil-refining industries. Korea's resources were gradually appropriated by Japan to further the latter's imperial plans. The economic structure of Korea formed a bridge between Japan and Manchuria, which was seized in 1931, and the three countries were welded into a single totalitarian war economy. During the Pacific War, Korea's economy became completely

merged with that of Japan, and was increasingly dependent upon the framework of economic relationships which had been developed throughout the period of Japanese domination. Japanese development in Korea was designed to promote the Japanese military programs, and Korea's resources were utilized to serve Japan's domestic and foreign trade. All foreign trade was controlled by Japanese trusts, and Japanese monopolies were in charge of finance, agriculture, transportation, shipping industries, fisheries, and marketing and distributive systems. Koreans were in no way permitted to deal directly with foreign concerns. Because technicians and administrators were Japanese, Koreans were generally uninformed about all matters pertaining to the management of foreign trade, which was centered in Tokyo. Because Korean industries were developed and supervised by the Japanese, and because Koreans were not permitted technical nor administrative training, a serious lack of qualified personnel was felt when the country was liberated in 1945.[2]

Koreans had deliberately been made dependent, in domestic as well as in foreign affairs. After the surrender of Japan in 1945, the military governments of North and South Korea vested themselves with a title of property to all holdings which had been Japanese-owned. These properties were the capital assets resulting from investments made in Korea by the Japanese. Though it is difficult to assess the total value of all these assets at the current price levels, it was estimated in 1940 to be about $1,500,000,000. This figure represents an investment only, and does not compare with the vast sums taken from Korea as profits during the years the country was a colony of Japan.[3]

(2) Today's Economy

The Korean economy was seriously crippled by Japan's policy for thirty-six years. Since the liberation in 1945, additional setbacks have been suffered primarily because of the separation of the industry of the north from the agriculture of the south. The erection of a barrier along the 38th parallel has created two economically disparate zones. However, it is an oversimplification to say that North Korea is industrial and South Korea is agricultural, because industry and agriculture exist in both areas. Nonetheless, the two zones complement each other. Agricultural production in the south was increased by the use of fertilizers

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[2]Chung, Kyung C., Korea Tomorrow, pp. 98-99.

[3]Ibid., p. 100.

manufactured in the north. Consumer goods industries of the south were dependent upon the north for electric power and semifinished raw materials. As a unified country, Korea was able to manage her internal resources reasonably well. As long as the artificial barrier exists, the economic breach between north and south will continue to widen and the prospects for a sound and stable Korean nation grow more dim. Neither the north nor the south has been able to utilize even a fraction of the country's resources.

In addition to the unfortunate division of the country, Korea suffered the destruction brought by the Korean War. The war damage in Korea was greater in proportion than in any other country in modern history. Because industry in the combat zones was almost completely destroyed, the productive capacity of surviving industrial facilities is far below the minimum needs of the country. Korea is obliged to depend upon aid from abroad not only to maintain everyday life but also to operate and reconstruct industry. The deficit financing of the government had caused inflation to reach an extent that could hardly be imagined before the war, and has created a most serious problem. Because a rapid increase in production cannot be expected in the near future, major importance should be attached to counter-inflationary measures.[4]

Agriculture

The majority of the South Korean people are engaged in agriculture; among the 22,970,000 population as of the end of 1959, 14,130,000 or 61.5% were farmers. The figure shows decrease from previous years but the proportion of farmers to the population (from 71.5% in 1949 to 61.5% in 1959) remains predominant for all that. Arable land, no more than 21% of the country's surface areas, is rather limited, due to the predominantly mountainous nature of the terrain. On such limited farm lands live 61.5% of the total population. Therefore, the size of the farmland tilled by average farm household covers no more than 2.2 acres. The best farmland and rice-growing areas are in the south. A decade ago, Korea was the world's fourth largest producer of rice. Many varieties of vegetables and fruits are grown. The principal crops are rice, barley, wheat, soybeans, red beans, peppers, and potatoes.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

Grain Crops. The major income of the Korean farmer is derived from grain crops. During the 1955-1957 period, for instance, as much as 79.4% of the average farm income came from grains, leaving only 5.6% from cattle and poultry raising, 4.7% from forestry products, and the rest from miscellaneous sources. As in most underdeveloped countries of the world, this heavy reliance on the harvest for income is a characteristic feature of the Korean agriculture. Among the grain crops, rice is the largest source of income, representing 55.3% of the total followed by wheat and barley, which comprise 12.6%. This is an indication that rice is predominant in the nation's agriculture. Because of this situation, diversified agricultural methods are not practiced and agriculture is heavily dependent upon weather conditions. At any rate, the success or failure of rice crops influence the entire economic life of Korea.

Fruits are grown throughout Korea, although it is not cultivated as an independent branch of the economy. The most common fruits are apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, apricots, and persimmons. Apples and pears are of excellent quality, and are raised in considerable quantity. The annual harvest is about 30,000 tons. Oranges are grown on Cheju island. Orchards are numerous in the West and South, especially the Kyeongsang South and North provinces, where they occupy large sections in the valley of the Nakdong River.

Non-food products occupy an important place in the country's economy. The land area that is devoted to their cultivation is comparatively small, constituting less than 7% of the total cultivated area; however, the products constitute an important part of the agricultural economy. Non-food crops include cotton, tobacco, ginseng, silkworms, perilla, hemp and ramie.

Though the cotton plant is comparatively new in Korea, it has become one of the principal non-food crops. The moist climate permits its cultivation on dry soils without the aid of artificial irrigation. It is planted in May and harvested in October and November. The annual production is over 100,000 tons. Tobacco ranks second among the non-food products both in the area planted and the quantity of production. It was grown in all sections of the country at one time, but, because it is a government monoply, the districts for its cultivation are now specified by the government. Farmers are forbidden to grow tobacco except by special permission.

Ginseng, a herb root, is an interesting product of Korea. It has been highly valued as a medical herb by the Chinese since early times. Its cultivation is a government monopoly, as is tobacco. In the old days, ginseng grew wild in Korea, but the wild plant became scarce, and is now cultivated on a wide scale, for it is an important item of export. Ginseng is planted in late March or early April. After four years the root is considered ready for use. There are two varieties in Korea, red and white. Only the red variety is subjected to steaming, and does not change its color. White ginseng is dried directly, without steaming.

Silk, prior to the war, had gained for Korea some recognition in the world markets. It is a valuable industry, and silk will become an important export item in the future. Korea's silk industry, introduced from China, was recorded in history five hundred years ago during the dynasties of Silla and Koryo. Before 1910 the silk industry was strictly a home industry, but during 1919-1939, with the influx of Japanese capital and interests such as Katakura and Kanebo companies, the silk industry was taken from the hands of the wealthy Korean families and expanded into one of the largest textile industries of the Far East. In 1937-1939, Korea's annual silk production averaged 1,700 tons, Japan's nearly 40,000 tons, China's 4,700 tons, Italy's 2,500 tons.[5]

Livestock raising has always been relatively unimportant in Korea. Before World War II, livestock products accounted for not quite 7% of the total agricultural output. Korea lacks good meadows and pasture land. Densely populated, particularly in the South, available land is cultivated rather than utilized for grazing purposes. The food value of one acre under grain is much greater than the food value obtainable through feeding and slaughtering animals, and the people are too poor to make meat a regular part of their diet.

Cattle is a most important source of draft power. Many farm families keep no animals at all and rent draft animals from the neighbors. Before World War II, only one family out of five had cattle; one of three kept pigs; 37,000 farm households out of a total of 3 million kept horses; and only 3,000 kept sheep. The distribution of farm animals was generally more favorable in the North than in the South. South Korean figures for 1955 indicate a substantial gain in the livestock population since the end

[5]Ibid., pp. 107-109.

of the Korean War. There were 887,159 head of cattle; 1,261,529 hogs; 290,599 rabbits; 8,923,549 chickens; and 622,438 ducks. But horses numbered only 17,120 and goats 38,151. By 1961 cattle had increased to over a million head, although the number of hogs had slightly decreased in comparison with 1955. Rabbits had more than doubled. Chickens were estimated at more than 11 million, but the number of ducks had fallen to less than 200,000. Horses numbered 21,400, but goats had greatly increased to 231,600 head. Draft animals normally are fed rice hulls and other harvest discards. Since the human population uses the land and its products so extensively, little feed is available, and there seems to be no possibility of livestock production becoming important in the South Korean economy in the foreseeable future. Attempts by the Japanese to introduce sheep raising in the interior noncultivable but grazeable uplands failed, and nothing apparently has been done since then to reintroduce sheep into Korea on a commercial basis. In May 1956, livestock cooperative associations were established in South Korea to develop animal breeding. At least 50 farmers were necessary to form the initial organization (as contrasted with 20 members necessary for the agricultural cooperatives). In other respects the livestock cooperative associations functioned along the lines of the general cooperatives.[6]

Forestry. Although forest lands occupy a large proportion of South Korea's total area of 38,175 square miles, the country's forest resources are seriously depleted. Since 1945, overcutting, intensified by diversion of all coal to industrial uses, had reduced standing timber to nearly one-half of the estimated total of 65 million cubic meters in 1942. In 1952, for example, the cut was three times as large as the annual growth. This denudation of forests not only has resulted in widespread erosion, floods, and substantial damage to the areas under cultivation, but has forced South Korea to import timber for its railroads, general construction, and industrial uses. Although the general fuel shortage is a major reason for overcutting, the damage is aggravated by a general lack of forest management. Until the Park government came to power, no adequate legislation controlled depredation of private forests belonging to individuals or companies owning more than two-thirds of South Korea's forest land. Technically, public and national forest guard exercised no authority over the national police and the army. They were reportedly in the wood selling business

[6]Dept. of the Army, U.S. Army Handbook for Korea, pp. 380-381.

as a tacitly approved way of adding to their meager pay. The government nevertheless made some progress in arresting the depletion of forests and in reforestation. Since 1953 millions of tree seedlings and small trees have been planted on denuded forest lands in South Korea. But a large scale conservation program of major importance to the country's redevelopment cannot be successful without cooperation by the farmers. Such cooperation is not likely to be forthcoming until some reasonably cheap fuel can be substituted for wood. In the meantime, the Park government enacted the Forest Law, the Erosion Control Law, the Forest Products Control Law, and the Hunting Law in an attempt to deal with these problems.[7]

Fisheries. The fishing waters adjacent to Korea are reportedly among the best in the world. A path for migratory fish is provided by the Korea Strait, and the shallow waters of the Yellow Sea are excellent for net fishing. Fisheries rank second to agriculture in supplying food for the population and provide most of the protein in the Korean diet. During the interwar years, fisheries were developed as a Japanese industry, and Korea ranked sixth among the principal fishing nations of the world. Before World War II, 500,000 people, or 1.5 percent of the population, not counting families, were employed in fishing, processing, and marketing. The Koreans themselves evidently have been little interested in commercial fishing. Traditionally, the fisherman has been accorded lower status than the peasant or merchant, and this attitude has remained relatively unchanged.

During World War II, fishing boats and equipment were allowed to deteriorate, and at the end of the war the Japanese took all usable equipment. The lack of seaworthy boats after 1945 has confined fishing principally to inshore areas--reducing the size of the catch and threatening depletion of nearby waters. The estimated 1956 catch was 287,000 tons and has shown a rising trend in subsequent years, but it has been considerably below that of 1940 which, under Japanese direction, totaled 545,200 tons. At the beginning of 1953, the fishing fleet consisted of nearly 44,000 vessels with a gross tonnage of 159,000 tons. Only 8% of these were power boats, but they accounted for 45,000 tons, or 29% of the total gross tonnage. In the 1955 fiscal year the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) provided vessels equipment and supplies to the industry amounting to $1.3

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[7] Ibid., p. 381.

million. Since that time the fleet has continued to grow. By 1961 motorized ships increased to 5,015 with a total gross tonnage of 54,547.

The bulk of the marine catch is made up of mackerel, anchovy, tunny, pollock, as well as ray, hairtail, shrimp, oysters, and laver. Approximately 70% of the catch is either consumed directly or crushed into fish meal and fish oil. Pressed fish meal is produced by small factories using simple processing methods and is used as fertilizer. Ground fish meal is used for animal fodder. Lack of processing and distribution facilities remains a major problem--as much as 20% of the catch spoils before it can get to the consumer. The situation is especially grave since the total catch meets only about 50% of the domestic requirement of approximately 44 pounds per capita. In addition to inadequate storage facilities, there is insufficient salt and ice, and transportation difficulties militate against distribution.

Fish canneries generally work at half capacity. In May 1952 there were 21 canneries operating with an annual capacity of 260,000 cases. Actual production that year was under 113,000 cans. Machinery was in poor condition, and sanitation and quality control were very unsatisfactory. A decade later there were 42 canneries in operation with an annual production capacity of over 4 million cases. Two of the canneries equipped with the most up-to-date equipment were imported from the United States in 1957 with economic aid fund from UNKRA.

Effort and capital have been directed into the fishing industry and, although it fails to meet local demand for fish, it is providing goods for export. The future of the Korean fishing industry is, however, subject to international political difficulties. The fish-producing areas around Korea can be fished in by fishermen from Japan, North and South Korea, China, and the USSR. If the South Korean fishing fleet is ever developed so that it can fish in offshore waters, only some kind of international agreement can prevent an extension of the conflict between South Korea and Japan although a treaty is concluded between the Republic of Korea and Japan.

Prior to the military coup in 1961 every fisherman in South Korea had to belong to a fishery guild, which was under government control as were the irrigation associations. The management of the South Korean Fishery Guilds

was governed by a law originally passed by Japanese in 1929. The managing director of the guild and his second in command were appointed by the provincial governor, and government inspectors audited the guild's accounts. The membership elected one of its members as "chief director" who acted as an adviser to the managing director. The guilds in turn were organized into provincial federations with a managing director appointed by the Minister of Commerce and Industry.[8]

Industry

Electricity. The electric power facilities inherited by South Korea at the time of partition were originally designed by the Japanese as an integral part of the power system for the Korean Peninsula as a whole. Power was supplied primarily by large hydroelectric installations in North Korea. Beginning in May 1948, electric power generated in plants north of the 38th parallel was no longer made available to South Korea. Since 1948, however, power output has increased, following construction of thermal and hydroelectric power generating facilities.

In 1954 the three major thermal electric plants then in existence produced 899 million kilowatt hours, which although far below the estimated needs, represented a 22% rise over 1933. Shortage of capital, lack of trained personnel, old equipment, and fuel shortage kept production down. There was also a 30% power loss because of antiquated meters and unauthorized tapping of power lines. In 1963 six hydroelectric plants, five thermal plants and supplementary units of various types, produced 2.2 billion kilowatt hours. Transmission lines also were constructed, developing a country-wide network, and the old equipment was replaced and rehabilitated. Most of the added capacity has been financed by foreign grants and loans. Although power was still in short supply, alleviation of the shortage was expected to be achieved with the completion of two thermal plants, one with a capacity of 132,000 kilowatts and the other with a capacity of 100,000 kilowatts. In November 1953, a government committee drew up a program to increase electric power substantially. The program consisted of two phases: the rehabilitation phases, which included restoration of existing power plants, substations, transmission lines, and other facilities damaged by warfare or lack of maintenance; and a second phase, concerned with the construction of additional power facilities needed to provide a balanced and

[8] Ibid., pp. 377-380

efficient power system. The two phases were accomplished concurrently, but in mid-1964 it appeared that the achievement of a balanced and efficient power system with adequate capacity to meet all requirements might not be accomplished for several years.[9]

Mining. South Korea has numerous and diverse mineral deposits but most of them are small, and many are of poor quality. Coal, tungsten, gold, and graphite are among the important minerals; those of lesser importance include zinc, copper, lead, molybdenum, and manganese. Production of some of the more important minerals, such as tungsten and coal, is either government-owned or government-controlled.

Coal is by far the major extractive industry in South Korea and consists almost exclusively of anthracite. Small quantities of lignite were produced in the early postwar years, but, although reserves are substantial, no output has been reported since 1951. The anthracite deposits are located principally near the east coast. This coal is utilized for industrial and home uses, mostly in pulverized or briquette form. The requirements for bituminous coal are being met by imports financed by the United States aid program.

Coal production has increased substantially since 1955 after the installation of new machinery and adoption of modern techniques in both government-controlled and privately-owned mines. Much of this equipment was financed under the UNKRA program and by the United States' aid. Until 1959 most of South Korea's anthracite--as much as 75% in 1955--came from government-controlled mines. Since that year privately-owned mines have produced slightly over 50% of the total output. The government-controlled Tai Han Corporation is South Korea's largest producer.

One of the world's largest tungsten deposits is located at Sangdong-myon, Yongwiel-kun, Kangson-do. Tungsten played an important role as one of South Korea's major export items in 1953 and 1954--largely because of the United States' purchases under an agreement with the government. This agreement expired, however, in 1954, and tungsten exports declined sharply. Output in 1955 was cut back to 3,146 tons, as compared with a production level of 7,400 tons in 1953. It rose to 6,303 tons in 1961, but declined again in subsequent years.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 403-404.

Graphite is another of Korea's foreign exchange earners. Substantial reserves of both amorphous and crystalline graphite exist in Korea. Production of amorphous graphite in 1955 increased appreciably to 90,000 tons, as compared with the 1954 total of 13,206 tons. Output has continued to rise and reached 337,985 tons in 1963. No crystalline graphite was produced in 1955, but its production was resumed in 1956 and totaled 1,690 tons in 1963. Japan has been the principal market for Korean graphite.[10]

Heavy Industry. The Japanese opened up the northern interior of Korea with truck roads and railroad lines. They undertook extensive geological exploration and then exploited the iron, gold, copper, and ferroalloy metal deposits. To support the developing industrialization of the northeastern coast, hydroelectric plants were constructed. Most of the industrial centers, such as Hungnam, processed ores shipped from the northern interior and elesewhere. Iron ore from Musan (in Hamgyong-pukto) was smelted at Ch'ongjin or exported to Japan. Electric furnaces for production of high-grade steel were established at Ch'ongjin and at Sungjin.

Railroad and transportation equipment, construction materials, and a variety of chemical products were also produced. The northern region became important as a corridor from Japan to northern Manchuria. Rapid ferry service was provided from Najin to Japanese home ports, and coastal steamers touched at Najin and Ch'ongjin. Unggi and Wonsan were military and naval ports. Wonsan, one of the first ports opened to foreign commerce in Korea in the nineteenth century, became under the Japanese a focal point for trade between northeastern Korea and western and southern Korea. Because of Wonsan's harbor facilities, an oil refining industry was established there by foreign companies. Oil, imported from Southeast Asia and the United States, was refined and distributed from Wonsan throughout Korea. The section around Hamhung was drastically transformed by Japanese industrial expansion. The small fishing village of Hungnam was developed into a major port by the construction of an artificial breakwater, and hydroelectric power provided the basis for chemical and other industrial plants.

In northwestern Korea a large refinery at Chinnampo on the estuary of the Taedong River was built to refine the gold ores. The town also became a major port and rice-milling center. From scattered and complex anthracite

[10] Ibid., pp. 401-403.

deposits near Pyungyang, the Japanese manufactured coal briquettes, some for use by the Japanese Navy, some for commercial sale. The iron ore found in widely scattered deposits at Kaecheon and other places north of Pyungyang and in Hwanghaeto was sent to blast furnaces located at Kyumipo on the Taedong River estuary. Coking coal, however, had to be imported mostly from China. Industries in these areas were at first almost wholly dependent on thermal power derived from coal. Later, transmission lines were built over the mountains to draw upon the hydroelectric power produced along the northeastern coast.

The real industrial expansion of the northwestern region, however, came just before and during World War II when the large Supungdong hydroelectric project on the Yalu was put into operation. Sinuiju, a new city on the Yalu River, and Pyongyang became important centers for the production of such varied products as chemicals, textiles, aluminum, rubber shoes, bicycles, electrical equipment, and varied consumer goods. The heavy industrial complex around Pyungyang was associated with the iron and steel industry of Kyomipo. Further expansion of the area, based in part on iron ore from the Tungpientao region across the Yalu and on coal from northern China, was projected by the Japanese. Extensive salt pans, dependent upon sea water and solar evaporation, were constructed north of Chinnampo to take advantage of the tidal change of 20-30 feet. Near Haeju copper refining, chemical, and other industries were developed.

Industrial development led to a tremendous increase in road and railroad construction. The main line connecting Seoul and Wonsan was extended along the coast to Cheongjin, then directly north into the Tuman River basin, and eventually turned south to the ports of Unggi and Najin. Branch railroads were built, and roads and highways supplemented the rail network. A railroad built westward from Wonsan to Pyungyang just before World War II became especially important when Korea was divided for it was then the only significant east-west link.[11]

Light industry. Concentrated in present-day South Korea, most of Korea's light and consumer goods production was, and to some extent still is, carried out in the home or in small shops. In 1933 household or cottage industry was responsible for 40% of the total value of Korea's industrial production, and by 1938 it still accounted for 25%. In contrast to work performed in the home, the small shops provided--and continue

[11] Ibid., pp. 391-392.

to do so even today in South Korea--full-time jobs for the owner and one or two helpers. The products ranged from homespun cloth and rough sandals to fine silk and fancy tables. Most of the raw materials were purchased in local markets.

Household industry predominated in the food and lumber industries. In the textile industry, household work was responsible for 22% of the total value of production in 1938; in machinery and tools, 16%; in ceramics, 27%. Even in the chemical industry the household was responsible for 11% of production. In the textile industry the household was strongly represented in processing cocoons and in weaving rayon and hemp. In the metal industry it prepared kitchen utensils. In the machine and tool industry it made agricultural implements and simple machinery, carts, and boats. In ceramics it manufactured earthen utensils, bricks, and tiles. In the chemical industry it was represented by herb medicines, vegetable and fish oil, animal fats, paper, fish fertilizers, and coal bricks. In the lumber industry homework predominated in the making of furniture, casks, etc; in the food industry, unrefined sake, other alcoholic beverages, bakery items, and fish products.[12]

Handicraft. For four thousand years handicraft has been the traditional art of Korea, and the skill of her craftsmen is unexcelled. Korea's porcelains, lacquer wares, and "wanggol" (rush) products are among the best in the world. Weaving, porcelain making, silversmithing, brass, and wood carving at one time attained a high degree of workmanship. These products are more than ample for local needs, but the quality should be improved for export. A governmental guidance for improvement of the handicraft industry for the purpose of large scale export would probably increase economic stability.[13]

Finance

Financing the country's economy is one of the serious problems of Korea today. Under Japanese domination the monetary system was supplanted by a currency system integrated with that of Japan to facilitate the flow of capital into Korea from Japan. A financial structure appropriate to the needs of a modern colonial power was created. The general disorganization of the economy and resulting inflation following the liberation in 1945 were accelerated by the Korean War. The absence of export trade sufficient to

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[12] Ibid., pp. 392-393.

[13] Chung, Kyung C., op. cit., pp. 139-140.

balance imports has created an additional financial burden. In 996 A.D., during the reign of King Sookchong of the Koryo Dynasty, iron coins were used for the first time as money. Officials were ordered to put them into circulation on an auspicious day. In 1101, in the sixth year of the reign of King Sookchong, the coins called Hae Tong T'ong Po 海東通宝, Hai Tong Chung Po 海東重宝, Sam Han T'ong Po 三韓通宝, Sam Han Chung Po 三韓重宝, Tong Kook T'ong Po 東國通宝, Tong Kook Chung Po 東國重宝, were minted. They were made of copper, and circular in form, with a square hole in the center. Before 1910 the money in circulation consisted of copper, nickel, and gold coins and some notes. The monetary unit was "won", which was replaced by Japanese "yen" and it was changed to "hwan" after 1945 and it was changed to "won" again after the military revolution in 1961.

After the Japanese annexation of Korea, the Bank of Korea began operating with a paid-up capital of 10,000,000 yen, which was increased to 25,000,000 yen by 1944. Korean money in circulation consisted of bank notes issued by the Bank of Korea. Since the liberation in 1945 Korea's financial policy has been dependent upon disbursement by the Military Government. The greatest importance has been attached to making available the funds necessary for the livelihood of the people and for the preservation of public peace rather than for industrial rehabilitation. Administrative authorities lacked the courage to follow the politically difficult course of sharply reducing government expenditures and drastically raising taxes, which was necessary for financial stability.

Government subsidies were largely financed by the issuance of currency. The expansion of currency to cover government budgetary deficits created a rampant inflation which has not yet abated. As the currency in circulation increased, prices increased. Inflation was accelerated by the deficit financing of the government. The gradual growth of inflation has made economic development difficult, and has constituted a threat to the livelihood of the people.

Korea's financial structure is comparatively undeveloped. There are no adequate facilities for mobilizing current savings and channeling them into productive investments. Government deficits are financed by recourse to central-bank credit. The tax structure, tax collection methods, and budgetary accounting procedures are antiquated by modern standards. Currency constitutes the medium of exchange, and checks are not used widely. Inflation was checked somewhat before the

Korean War, reflecting a steadily improving economic condition. Production of consumer goods was beginning to meet demands, and under the new tax structure receipts were closer to balancing governmental budgets. The Korean War, however, had an effect upon the currency which paralleled the vast destruction of physical properties. The main reasons for increased inflation were: 1. destruction of normal sources of revenue; 2. vast increase in military expenditures, and other emergency programs requiring huge and unbudgeted sums. It should not be overlooked that the inflationary problem in Korea is an integral part of the recent war situation. A healthy economy can hardly be expected when the greater part of all physical facilities was destroyed. The incapacity of the financial structure to withstand the strain of war is partly due to the monetary system, which is based on inconvertible paper currency. On June 30, 1952 the note issued in South Korea amounted to 667,540 million won, and military expenditures continued unabated. After the Military Revolution, the government set up new economic policies which streamlined the financial and banking operations, and was ready to launch a five year economic development program which began in 1962. However, the prospect for the immediate future is not optimistic.[14]

[14] Ibid., pp. 146-150.

b. Social Problems

The story of human history has been one of continuing struggle, hunger, want--at times, even slavery. To understand the nature, scope, or course of development of a particular society, one must first understand the problems that have beset and continue to challenge that society.

In this age of dynamic changes in resource development, cultural assimilations, political and military tensions, ideological conflicts, and the many stresses of daily life for the individual, the nation, the world, Korea, too, is beset with a lion's share of complex social problems.

Starting from the world of mythology, the Korean people first embraced Buddhism, then Confucianism, and in the second half of the 19th century, the various forms of Christianity. And then, while struggling to adopt the Western capitalistic civilization at the close of the century, Korea fell prey to Japan. Deprived of liberties and exploited by the Japanese from 1910 to 1945, the Korean people had to stand still, retaining feudal conservatism. However, the spirit of the Korean people--the spirit of resistance, the power to assimilate what is alien--provided a solid ground for future development of the Korean culture.[1]

Following the end of World War II, the Korean people worked hard and looked forward to recovering their national sovereignty and enjoying political freedom as well as to establishing a new nation wherein they might enjoy an affluent economy. However, these hopes were smashed with the unexpected division of the nation. The country was like a half-paralyzed person. In addition, people began to return home from abroad and refugees came pouring down from the north to seek freedom. So the population expanded rapidly. This social crisis further aggravated the economic situation.

Imbalance in the economic structure, coupled with political and social confusion, and the destruction wrought by the Korean conflict (1950-1953) caused economic activities to slump drastically. Excessively meager production facilities, compared to the available labor power, resulted in serious unemployment problems. Widespread poverty caused countless social problems: problems of housing, disease, prostitution, juvenile vagrants, beggars, war widows, and disabled veterans.

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[1]Hagwonsa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, 1963, p. 4.

In such adverse circumstances no nation can make normal economic or political progress. Hungry, unemployed people have no peace of mind but are restless and resentful. Poverty, misery, and discontent provide breeding grounds for communism. And yet, such are the social problems confronting Korea today.

(1) Changes in the Social Structure

The Traditional Social Structure

Until the early 17th century, Korea had a rigid class structure which was sanctioned and supported by Confucian precepts. Government officials, including the military and landowners, were members of the upper class or Yangban. The Yangban were distinguished from the rest of the people by power, wealth, dress, education, and social behavior. The Yangban were educated primarily in Confucian classics and etiquette. The commoners, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, were small farmers, farm workers, merchants, craftsmen, and serfs. The lowest position on the social scale was occupied by the so-called "lowest born" or "despised" peoples, made up of slaves, monks, nuns, Kisaeng girls, and others.

Social mobility was extremely restricted. In rare cases, however, a commoner (and his family) moved up the social ladder into the ruling class by passing and winning high honors in the national civil service examination (Kwago), and thereby obtaining a government post which provided him with the means to improve his economic position.

The most important social unit was the "extended family." The extended family, composed of several conjugal families related through the male line, formed the basic economic, political, social, and religious units of the society.[2] The Korean family was a large, patriarchal unit, economically self-sufficient and integrally related to the Confucian system of ethics. The individual Korean's place in society was defined in terms of his family and his position within it. Role and status differences within the family were based primarily on relative age, generation, and sex. The family itself, through clan relationships, extended to distant relatives and provided the individual with material aid, prestige, and social connections on a broad scale.

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[2]Department of the Army, U.S. Army Area Handbook for Korea: 1964, p. 59.

Transformation of the Social Structure and Its Effects.

The transformation of the traditional social structure began in the late 19th century with the introduction of Western ideas, increased after the beginning of Japanese control in 1910, and became much more rapid and intensified after the Liberation in 1945.

The period of Japanese domination of Korea (1910-1945) was one during which industrialization, impoverishment of the peasant landowners, and mobility of the population greatly increased. This mobility consisted of both internal migration, north to the industrial cities, and emigration to Japan and Manchuria. Such changes tended to undermine the patriarchal family structure which was designed for a stable, landholding, agricultural type of society. As the small farmers became poorer, younger sons were forced to migrate. The industries, which the Japanese were developing, provided an alternative to starvation for these people. The young men, who were successful in their new occupations, seldom returned. For a while they continued to send part of their wages back to the head of the house, but after a period of years a complete break frequently occurred. Poverty made large, extended families impossible, thus weakening a link in the long chain of strong family relationships. And as industry and a market system developed, the family became economically less self-sufficient.

Since the cultural changes took place more rapidly in the cities than in the country, rural-urban differences became striking by the 1920's and 1930's. The higher educational institutions were located in the cities and it was there where Western ideas were more widely adopted. Many young men and women became financially independent, more individualistic, and less inclined to accept the guidance of elders or the responsibilities of extended family ties.[3]

Many families can no longer be depended upon to fulfill the function of caring for distant kin in times of need, yet the feeling persists that this is a family obligation. Serious tensions have developed within the family system, particularly between members belonging to different generations, over divergent interpretations of rights and duties of the members of the household. Conflicts develop when strongly inculcated values, such as the importance of assisting close relatives or accepting the advice of elders, become difficult or inconvenient to carry out.[4]

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[3] Ibid., p. 89.
[4] Ibid., p. 77.

Also, due to the large number of refugees, displaced persons, and Koreans returning from Japan, different patterns of behavior have developed among the classes in society. In general, the speed of the changes has given rise to conflicts, and when no acceptable new patterns have been found to replace the old, the changes have caused disillusionment.

(2) Current Problems

The Division of the Nation

The major problem facing the country is its division into North and South Korea. This separation creates and intensifies all other problems by dividing families and natural trade areas, and by perpetuating a state of suspended hostilities.

During the Japanese rule the Korean economy was developed to complement that of its colonial ruler--an agricultural pattern in the south and an industrial pattern in the north. This situation left a critical gap in the economic organizational structure of both parts of the peninsula. Economically out of balance, neither North nor South Korea was capable of further development without substantial outside assistance. North Korea, heavily industrialized but short of food resources and manpower, became part of and dependent upon the Soviet Union, Communist China, and their satellites. South Korea, strong in agriculture but heavily overpopulated and lightly industrialized, became dependent chiefly upon the United States. Dependence was intensified by the Korean War during which both North and South suffered a great deal of property damage. The loss of manpower, continued inflation, and spread of diseases were the other results of the war.[5]

The division also presents a formidable security problem requiring the maintenance of an extremely large and costly army--a further economic burden. The United States pays most of the cost of equipping and maintaining the weaponry of the South Korean armed forces--running presently at about $150 million a year. In addition to that, the South Koreans spend more than one third of the national budget on the armed forces.[6]

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[5] Ibid., p. 347.

[6] Korean Information Office, Embassy of Korea, Korean Report, March 1966, p. 13.

The problems are intensified by the task of recovering from the destruction caused by the Korean conflict. The destruction of domestic property by the war was estimated at $3 billion, and more than one million people lost their lives.[7] Most of the physical damage was caused in productive facilities, i.e., buildings, industrial equipment, transportation machinery and facilities. The Korean economy had its backbone crushed.

The Population Explosion

Since the Liberation the population of Korea has undergone great changes both in structure and in rate of increase. The political change that followed the Liberation and the social disorder brought about by the Korean War greatly affected not only the normal, continuing increase of population but also its structure by age, occupation, and class. This also brought considerable changes in the rate of birth, death, marriages, and social movements.

The population of Korea increased at an annual rate of 1.5% between 1910 and 1940. But the rate jumped to 6% in the eleven years following the Liberation increasing the population of South Korea from 19.9 million in 1945 to 21.3 million in 1957. During 1957-60 the yearly increase was 8.2%.[8] The present rate is 2.88%.

The population density of South Korea is a serious problem. Almost 70% of the peninsula's population is situated in South Korea.[9] While the area of North Korea is 48,000 square miles with a population of approximately 12,000,000, the area south of the 38th parallel is only 36,700 square miles and has a population of nearly 28,000,000. Refugees from North Korea and repatriates from Manchuria, China, and Japan have been flooding back to settle chiefly in the south.

In the south, males outnumbered females by about 13,000 in 1962.[10] In the large cities this predominance is especially great and presents a grave problem, the more so because urbanization of Korea is proceeding at a rapid rate.

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[7]Ministry of Public Information, ROK, January 1966.

[8]Ministry of Public Information, ROK, January 1966.

[9]U.S. Army Handbook, p. 48.

[10]Ibid., p. 52.

In sharp contrast with the urban population which was swollen by the high tide of refugees to 72.2%, the rural population rose by only 26.5% during the span of five to seven years following the Liberation.[11]

The population of South Korea includes a high proportion of young people. In 1962, persons under twenty years of age made up 52% of the total, those twenty-one to forty years of age made up an additional 28%, those over forty constituted the remainder.[12]

Many people of working age were among the war dead but refugees from the north far exceeded the number of war dead and quickly filled their positions. But political confusion paralyzed economic functions and as a result productivity fell and unemployment rose sharply. In order to reduce the unemployment and overpopulation problems (cf. Chart below), labor power was exported and a five year plan was initiated. (cf. Chart on following page)

Territorial Size and Population
of South and North Korea[13]

	Land (Square Kilometers)	Population (As of May 1944)	(As of 1966)
South Korea	93,634	15,879,000	27,958,000
North Korea	127,158	9,241,000	12,000,000*
Total - - -	220,792	25,120,000	39,958,000

(*Estimate)

Education

Because of the traditional social values which stressed the importance of classical studies in preparation for government positions, there has been a lack of skilled technicians (teachers, engineers, craftsmen, etc.). Therefore the government has been hampered in its attempt to modernize and develop the economy.

The damage wrought on educational facilities by the Korean War was very extensive. Over half of the school buildings were destroyed, and those that remained needed major

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[11]Hagwonsa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, 1960, p. 281.

[12]U.S. Army Handbook, p. 48.

[13]Ministry of Public Information, ROK, Jan. 1966.

Population, Labor Force, and Employment[14]

(in millions)

	First Year 1961	1962	1963	1964	Target Year 1965	1966	Increase during the plan period
Total population	25.4	26.1	26.9	27.6	28.4	29.2	3.8
Rate of growth	2.88%	2.88%	2.85%	2.82%	2.78%	2.74%	14.9%
Labor force	10.7	10.9	11.2	11.4	11.7	11.9	1.2
Employment*	8.0	8.5	8.9	9.2	9.6	10.1	2.1
Rate of increase	1.98%	5.78%	4.35%	3.90%	4.69%	4.83%	

*Employment excludes the underemployed persons, that is, those who work less than 18 hours per week in the rural areas.

Population for the plan period is essentially a projection of the 2.9 per cent annual growth rate derived from the date of the 1955 Census and the 1960 Population Census. Some deceleration in the rate of population growth, however, has been anticipated with implementation of various population policies, and the population in the target year is estimated to be about 29.2 million, an increase of 14.9% during the plan period.

Since population, in the absence of well-developed national policies, can be expected to grow at an accelerated rate due to improved medical and sanitation services which will reduce the death rate, and to an increase of females of reproductive age, population control measures will be required.

Assuming that the sum of the rate of increase in employment and of the rate of increase in productivity determines the rate of economic growth, it is expected that the number of new jobs created will be greater than the number of new entrants to the labor force during the plan period, thereby reducing unemployment.

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[14]Summary of the First Five-Year Economic Plan 1962-66, p. 30.

repairs. Following the Armistice, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken at feverish pitch with the active assistance of the United Nations Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) and the U.S. Government. With this impetus, education was restored to pre-war levels, not only in physical facilities but in standards as well.[15]

Despite advances, the tasks which confront educators in Korea are formidable. Universal primary education, while called for by law, has not yet been fully realized, and at higher levels the percentage of school-age population in actual attendance is relatively small and limited mainly to the upper economic groups. Rising tuition charges in the universities are a cause of widespread student unrest and, insofar as some students and their families seek to raise the required fee by any means, contribute to the general problem of corruption.[16] Most employment opportunities are pre-empted by graduates of three or four leading colleges, so that factionalism--characteristic of the society-- is intensified.

In January 1963, some 22,500 college and university students, representing about ninety per cent of those who had taken the baccalaureate test (government test), completed their studies successfully. The remainder were graduated without degrees. Of those who were graduated, it was expected that only ten to twenty per cent would be able to find suitable employment. In the same year, nearly 30,000 high school graduates successfully completed the college entrance examination. The country's colleges and universities, however, had places for only about half that number.[17]

At least 3,782 new teachers were needed to take care of the increase of about 235,440 school-age children who started school in 1966.[18] To deal with the perennial shortage of teachers, the government has overhauled the system of teacher training, replacing the old teacher-training schools with two-to-three year teachers' colleges in which elementary school instructors are trained. The classroom shortage on the elementary level must also be met and brought in line with the burgeoning enrollment.

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[15] Korea: Its Land, People and Culture, p. 366.

[16] U.S. Army Handbook for Korea, p. 142.

[17] Ibid., p. 143.

[18] The Korean Republic, July 16, 1965.

Secondary education in Korea consists of three years of middle school followed by three years of high school. The demand is so great that providing sufficient facilities and maintaining a reasonably high standard in the rapidly expanding field is a constant challenge and a major problem. The number of middle schools has nearly tripled in the past thirteen years. A further increase in the number of high schools and middle schools is considered essential.

The Housing Problem

Housing has always been regarded as one of the most urgent and important of social and economic difficulties in Korea. The population of the South, standing at 15,879,000 in 1944, soared to 19,900,000 the following year. Some 595,000 houses, equivalent to 18% of the total, were destroyed during the Korean War. However, with the construction of 250,000 houses by the Government and another 590,000 by private citizens between 1951 and 1961, the annual rate of housing construction has been maintained at 2.2%, a percentage which has more than made up for the war's destruction.

The population increase at the rate of 2.8% in recent years and destruction of houses due to obsolete construction and natural calamities, such as floods, typhoons, etc., have led to an estimated shortage of 650,000 housing units. This, added to the 290,000 inadequate living shelters, such as cardboard shacks and caves in big cities, raises the total housing shortage in Korea to one million.

Houses Built From 1951 Through 1961

By the Government	252,099
By private citizens	589,146
Total----	841,245

Housing Situation (As of the end of 1961)[19]

Houses required	4,382,000
Existing houses	3,699,000
Shortage---	685,789

[19]Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, p. 303

In an effort to solve the housing problem, the Government, following the May 16 Military Revolution, took two noteworthy steps: it completed the construction of 23,223 shelters in just six months as temporary homes for people of low income, and also established a five-year housing construction program with a view to minimizing the housing shortage by the end of 1966.

Housing Construction Since the Revolution (May 16)[20]

Public and framed houses for relief	2,952
Houses for flood victims	2,036
Houses for resettling farmers	1,228
Houses for typhoon victims	16,000
Houses built with foreign aid	1,000
Others	7
Total---	23,223

The Status of Women

In spite of the constitutional guaranty of equal rights, Korean women are not in a position to engage in economic and social activities on a par with men. The concept that women are subordinate to men has been very deeply rooted in the Korean society where the traditional family system of paternal lineage has been dominant.[21] As a result, women are still unable to duly exercise their legal rights and are still subject to unequal social treatment and discriminatory practices in all regions of daily life. Such treatment is especially conspicuous in the field of education.

Educational Breakdown by Sexes (1961)

	(Now Attending)		(Graduate)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Junior and Senior High	555,000	274,000	807,000	370,000
College	101,000	37,000	133,000	21,000

Discrimination in job-procurement is ascribed to deep-rooted traditions which make it a rule for women to stay away from jobs after marriage and to the concept which places men on a higher level than women. As a result, there are few

[20] Ibid., p. 305.
[21] Ibid., p. 301.

skilled women in industry. The majority of female workers are from fifteen to twenty years old with virtually no women over twenty-five holding down any job, except for a small number of those about forty-five years old. There are numerous instances where jobs normally filled by women in foreign countries, such as the positions of secretaries, school teachers, etc., are being carried out by male workers in Korea. The salary for the working woman is very low; there are numerous cases in which women get paid half--sometimes one third--the amount which men get paid for performing the same work.[22]

The Legacies of the War

What to do about war widows and prostitutes is a constant problem in Korea. In 1960, of the total 508,000 widows, 49,000 were survivors of soldier-husbands, 10,000 wives of deceased police officers, and the remaining 449,000 otherwise widowed. Among them, widows of war veterans and displaced persons pose one of the most urgent social problems. The Government issues pensions to the bereaved families and has established sixty-five public and private facilities throughout the country to accomodate more than 79,000 mothers and children.[23]

With the abolition of licensed prostitution following the Liberation, prostitutes went underground, presenting themselves not only as a particular social problem but also contributing to the rise of crime and to the spread of venereal diseases. Although the official estimate in 1961 put the number of illegal prostitutes at 17,000, it was thought that the number of such women exceeded by far the official figure and their elimination has posed a great headache for municipal authorities.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs installed an independent Women's Bureau. Women's Divisions in provincial governments and commissioners for women's affairs aimed chiefly at bringing about improvement in their living standards.

The solution of this problem in Korea depends largely upon the elimination of the feudal family system and social traditions where the concept of 'men before women' is still prevalent.

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[22] Ibid., p. 302.

[23] Ibid., p.

Children of mixed blood. The majority of children of mixed blood born after the outbreak of the Korean War were illegitimate offspring of U.S. servicemen. Although measures were taken to increase welfare facilities with foreign aid and government subsidies, opportunities for placing these children in homes by adoption have been extremely limited. The prevailing Confucian doctrine upholds the large but very tight-knit family system. As Korean society has proved very reluctant to accept orphans of mixed blood, many were sent to American families in the United States. But there are still some 1,500 children of G.I. parentage in Korea.[24]

Up to 1961, government policies had been based on the principle of accomodating these children in welfare facilities. However, these laws were completely revised in 1962 with emphasis being placed on having them adopted or at least brought up in ordinary homes. The government agencies not only try to prevent children from running away from their poverty-stricken homes but have also begun to send runaway children back home and are shifting subsidy and other aid funds to poor families rather than to the welfare organizations. These changes were made because adequate education for problem children was difficult in collective institutions. There were few eligible specialists, and children brought up in such a climate usually lack the spirit of endurance, self-respect, and sense of balance, tending to be dependent on others. Efforts are being undertaken to extend aid to needy families in order to prevent children from running away from home because of hunger.[25] There are about 3,000 juvenile vagrants roaming throughout the country and the Government is unable to control them because of the lack of necessary facilities and funds.[26]

(3) The Future

The developments of the past few decades brought about many changes in the character of Korean society. Persons of Yangban origin still remind others of their "higher station in life," but many vestiges of Yangban distinctiveness have been wiped out. A new elite has arisen, made up principally of persons who have recently amassed wealth or established themselves in positions of political power. Confucian

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[24] Ibid., p. 303.

[25] Ibid., p. 304.

[26] The Child Welfare Law prohibits employing children to beg for alms, and also prohibits vagrancy and prank-playing, with punitive measures in case of violation. Ibid., p. 303.

ethics continues, in varying degrees, to influence the thought and behavior of every member of the society, tending to be greatest among the older generation and least among those born during the 1940s. The impact of Confucianism has, nevertheless, been greatly weakened, and many persons have come to feel that they are living in an alien world without order or predictability--in which they must struggle ever for mere physical survival.[27]

Social problems in Korea are, for the most part, of such a nature that their solutions cannot soon be realized. The Government has striven hard to overcome difficulties. It has made mistakes, and there are many problems yet to be solved. The transformation of Korea in the last five years (1961-65) has, nevertheless, been astonishing.

Aiming to build a solid base for the nation's industrial development and to achieve the ultimate goal of self-sufficient economy, the Korean Government formulated the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1962-66). Between the time when the first Five-Year Plan began and the end of 1965 Korea achieved an average annual economic growth rate of 7.6% against the planned annual growth rate of 6.8% for the five years covered by the plan. This growth is one of the most encouraging signs of economic progress in Korea.

An austere credit and financial policy has also been instituted, and for the past two years (1963-65) price inflation has been held within reasonable bounds. The price increase in 1965 was about 6.5%. Agricultural production and the products of the mining industry have increased by 60% since 1960. Electric power production has increased many-fold since 1945 and doubled since 1960 from 40,000 to 80,000 kilowatts. The target in 1966 was an additional 60,000 kilowatts. New factories producing fertilizers, cement, plywood, and pharmaceuticals are being built. In 1965 industrial production rose by 19%.[28]

Now the South Korean Government is planning the second and third Five-Year Economic Development Plans. If future progress matches past performance, by the time the third Five-Year Plan has been successfully accomplished, in the latter part of the 1970s, Korea will have been modernized and will have become economically self-sufficient.

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[27] U.S. Army Handbook, p. 7.

[28] Korean Report, 4/6/66, p. 27.

The Korean people's paramount goal is national unification. The political future of both North and South Korea will be determined by the outcome of the struggle for economic advancement. President Park said in his State of the Nation message:[29]

> Let us all join forces and plant that gigantic tree of "self-sufficiency" that will bear the fruit of national unification both for the sake of us today and for the sake of our prosperity tomorrow.

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[29] Korean Information Foreign Publicity Material Service, VII.

c. Social Organizations

(1) Traditional Groups

Kye.

The Kye (契) in Korea is one of the oldest social organizations in the world. The first Kye was started nearly 2000 years ago around the beginning of the Silla Dynasty. It was initiated by the king (Yu-Ri-Wang 儒理王 24-56 A.D.) as a recreational and social organization among the court ladies and was called Ka-Bae-Kye (嘉俳契).

Shortly after this woman's organization was established, a group for men, called Hyang-Doh-Kye (香徒契), was also organized.

This community and social organization spread to encompass all kinds of groups throughout the country; for example:

1. Si-Kye (詩契) -- social organization of poets;

2. Hyang-Yak-Kye (鄕約契) -- educators;

3. Dong-Nyun-Kye (同年契) -- those who passed the civil service examination (Kwago 科擧);

4. Sa-Ma-Kye (司馬契) the Jin-Sa (進士) and their sons;

5. Sa-Kye (射契) -- archers;

6. Dong-Kye (洞契) or E-Jung-Kye (이중契) -- a joint operation in building schools, bridges, roads, etc., and sharing equipment of all types among the villagers;

7. Song-Kye (松契) -- co-ownership or joint operation of forest and mountains;

8. Nong-Kye (農契) -- co-ownership or joint cultivation of farm land;

9. Sun-Kye (船契) -- co-ownership of boats;

10. Ue-Mang-Kye (漁網契) -- co-ownership of fishing nets;

11. Woo-Kye (牛契) -- co-ownership of oxen;

12. Sik-Ri-Kye (殖利契) -- a type of community loan association.

Some of these social organizations are somewhat more inclined to be involved in financial activities, nevertheless, their main aim is social in nature.

In 1925 there were 480 kinds of Kye, and the number of Kyes was 19,100; close to one million people belonged to one of the Kyes.[1]

The tendency of the Kye today is even more inclined to be financial, especially among the women's societies, because of the economic situation of the nation.

(2) Western-type Organizations

The Red Cross Society[2]

The Red Cross was founded by J.H. Dunant in 1864 with twelve member countries in order to commemorate the English nurse Florence Nightingale (1820-1910).

This non-profit, relief organization operates in times of war and peace.

The financial resource to support this organization is the membership fee, and there are about 100 member countries in the world (1965).

Korea joined this international organization in 1904. The Japanese Red Cross took over the Korean Red Cross in 1909 and kept running it until 1945. The Korean Red Cross resumed her membership in 1955. It has hospitals and nurses' training schools in the large cities in Korea.

YMCA

The YMCA was founded by an Englishman, George Williams, in 1844 in London for the educational, spiritual, and physical training of youth and to combat immorality in society. The YMCA became a world organization in 1856, and there were, in 1965, about eighty member countries.

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[1] Korean Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, p. 308.

[2] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 392.

Korea joined the YMCA in 1903 and used an old house in Hyang-Jung-Dong, Seoul. In 1907, a three-story brick building was built on Chongno Street. It has a large hall, gymnasium and several classrooms to serve the purpose of Williams' original idea.

YWCA

The YWCA was organized in 1857 in England with the same purpose as the YMCA, but for women. The Korean YWCA was organized in 1922 by Hwallan Kim and Kakyoung You. The Korean YWCA is located at Myung-Dong, Seoul.

The Scout Movements

The Boy Scouts was started by R.B. Powell in England in 1908 to develop the spirit of cooperation among young boys. It has been an international organization since 1920, and has a Jamboree every four years in a designated country.

The Korean Boy Scouts was started in 1923 but was discontinued in 1938. It started again in 1946 and became an international member in 1953. The Korean Boy Scouts Headquarters is in Seoul, Korea, and the International Boy Scouts' Headquarters is in New York.

The Girl Scouts was started in 1909 in England to develop good citizenship and healthy, useful living among girls. It became an international organization in 1920. The Korean Girl Scouts joined the international organization in 1957.

The Four-H Club

This is a youth organization in the rural areas sponsored by the Department of Agriculture (U.S.A.). Its aim is to educate the young people in the rural parts of the country and to improve the four Hs--Hands, Heart, Head, and Health. The Four-H Club in Korea was established in 1946, and is operating under the Governor of each province.

The Salvation Army[3]

The Salvation Army was established in England by William Booth in 1877. Its aim is to preach the gospel and to aid the poor.

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[3]Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 610.

There are about 100 member countries at present (1965), and the World Headquarters is in London, England. The organization has adopted a military system--the chain of command.

The Korean Salvation Army was established by Colonel Hoggard in 1909. The Headquarters is in Seoul, and there are more than 150 branches all over Korea. There are also affiliated schools, orphanages, rest homes, hospitals, etc.

Orphanages[4]

Orphanages in Korea were started about a half century ago, but they were few in number. A few years later, the Christian organizations founded and operated orphanages in the large cities in Korea.

After the Korean War (1950-1953), the number of orphanages increased tremendously. There are now (1965) over 450 orphanages and over 50,000 orphans in Korea.

The name for orphanage has been modified from Ko-A-Won (Lonely Child Institute) to Bo-Yuk-Won (Foster Institute) for the sake of sensitive children. The Sisters Institute, founded by the Koh sisters (Whang-Kyung and Bong-Kyung), is one of the pioneer organizations in Korea.

Associations of Women.

The Korean Patriotic Women's Society was founded by six Korean women under the leadership of Young-Sin Hann in 1919 in order to support the Korean independence movement. There were branches all over the country, but the Japanese government authority forced them to discontinue after about two years of operation.

The Korean Patriotic Women's Society was also formed in 1919 by Korean women living in America. The organization supported the Korean independence movement and the Korean provisional Government in Shanghai.

In 1949, the Korean Women's Society was formed under the leadership of Francesca Rhee, the wife of Syngman Rhee, the first president of Korea, and Maria Park, the wife of Vice-President Lee. Its purpose is to promote high standards of education and higher social status for women in Korea. There are half a million members throughout Korea.

[4]Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 457.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry

The Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry was started in 1884 and reorganized in 1952. Its purpose is to promote commerce and industry in Korea through counseling and the exchange of pertinent information. In order to do so, the organization investigates commercial and industrial developments at home and abroad. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry also serves as a consultative organization for the Korean government.

The Rotary Club[5]

The Rotary Club was started by P.P. Harris, an American, in Chicago in 1905. Its purpose is to promote world peace, international relations, and service to people. Their motto is "Service."

The members have all kinds of occupations. At present the membership is over 160,000[6] in more than 60 countries (1965). The Rotary is very active in Korea.

Consumers Groups

This system started in Europe a century ago and is now highly developed and commercialized. In many large Korean organizations there are various forms of consumers' mutual-aid groups which help the low-income people. A good example of a consumers' association is the Kahang-Saeng-Hoe (康生會) formed by employees of the Department of Transportation.

By pooling their funds, the members can make large purchases, distribute the goods among themselves, thereby making considerable savings.

Educational and Professional Groups

Alumni Associations

Graduates of high schools, colleges, and other schools form groups in order to renew their memories of school days. Some groups are quite active and have been able to develop strong ties among the graduates.

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[5] Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 669

[6] Standard Korean Dictionary, p. 426.

There are associations of students studying abroad, i.e., in America, Europe, Japan, etc.

Parent-Teacher Associations

There are Parent-Teacher Associations in every school district in Korea. Korean parents enthusiastically support the goals of the teachers and schools in order to promote their children's education. One rarely hears of conflicts between the schools and the parents because the parents entrust their children's education wholly to the school.

Professional Associations

There are many professional organizations in the large cities, but most of them are concentrated in Seoul. Their purpose is to promote interpersonal relationships within each professional field, facilitate the advancement of their profession and guarantee their protection.

The noteworthy associations are:

Korean Publishers' Association, Korean Library Association, Korean Federation of Educators, Korean Newspaper Publishers Association, Korean Broadcasting Association, Korean Federation of Artists' Groups, Korean Architects' Association, The Association of the Korean Classical Music, Korean Dancers' Association, Korean Authors' Association, Korean Art (painting) Association, Korean Photographers' Association, Korean Stage Artists' Association, Korean Motion Picture Artists' Association, Korean Music Association, Korean Motion Picture Producers' Association.

B. The Religious-Cultural Background

1. The Socio-Religious Tradition

a. Religion

Native Korean religions such as Shamanism, Chondogyo, etc., have always been influenced by foreign thoughts. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity are the three most influential religions in Korea at the present time. The latter was mainly propagated through the efforts of Christian missionaries.

The ancient religious beliefs of Korea contained some of the teachings found in Christianity. For instance, many people worshipped one god, whom they called Hananim, and believed in personal sin and punishment. These beliefs provided a foundation upon which the missionaries were able to build.

(1) Ancient Religions

The early Koreans worshipped almost anything they could not understand or control. Heavenly bodies such as the sun, the moon and, in some cases, the stars were objects of worship. High mountains, big rivers, rocks, and the earth itself were sacred. Since Korea is an agricultural country, things connected with agriculture such as high trees and soil were also objects of worship.

In ancient times, the dead were buried with their personal belongings, and family tombs were built underground to bury all members of one family. The burials of kings and royal families were naturally more elaborate. Constructed underground of stone or timber on grandiose scale, and covered with stone or clay forming a semi-spherical mound, the royal tombs contained sealed halls where the king's possessions, ornaments, and daily utensils were placed. Upon the walls were painted pictures of rituals, customs and other contemporary activities. Such tombs or "nung" are found around Kyungju, the capital of Silla, and Tungkou in Manchuria where the Koguryo Dynasty had its capital.

Worship of nature and ancestors has continued until today, developing in various directions. Ancestor-worship developed along with the worship of the heavenly God. The

legendary founder of Korea, Dangun, is said to have been the son of Hwang-ung and grandson of Hwan-in, who was God. Such a legend was originated in order to make Koreans believe that their national founders were the offspring of the heavenly God. The tribal states offered sacrifices to the gods in October or November after they had finished the harvest.

Shamanism

Shamanism was the earliest indigenous religion of the Korean people and continued to play an important role in their culture, having been part of the mores of the people since pre-historic times.

Of the Korean religions, Shamanism, or Spirit Worship, is the most ancient, its introduction among the Korean people having been lost in the gloom of prehistoric times. Shamanism has absorbed from Buddhism and Confucianism nearly everything of a supernatural characteristic that they possess, following no law of consistency or selection.

Thus, while theoretically the Korean recognizes the separate character of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism, actually they lie in his mind as a confused, undigested, chaotic mass of teachings and beliefs. The Korean believes in all three, excluding Koreans who believe in Christianity. He personally takes his own education from Confucius; he sends his wife to Buddha to pray for their offspring; and in the ills of life he willingly pays toll to Shamanic spirits. Many Koreans believe that by following all three systems, the united help will assure him a happy destiny during his life on earth and thereafter.[1]

Many of the spiritual beings that the Koreans worship are represented by material objects known as fetishes, and therefore fetishism is an important part of spirit worship. Sometimes the fetish decays with age, but still a Korean will refuse to destroy it because it is considered highly sacred.

An exact number of Korean spirits could not be computed because there are so very many of them, just as in Shintoism there are eight million gods, and in Hinduism thirty-three million.

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[1]Department of the Army, Korea, p. 74.

Among the more important of the Korean spirits are the five that rule the sky. One has the eastern sky, a second rules the southern, the third is the master over the western, the fourth over the northern, and the fifth over the middle sky. These gods are often considered as guardian gods of various villages; and posts, rudely carved to represent the spirits, are often placed at the entrance and exit of a village. Thus, at one time, they were commonly seen near every village to warn wanderers from entering and molesting the inhabitants. Each year a sacrifice of rice dough and fruits is offered them as a token of gratitude.

Acting as lieutenants to the five great spirit gods are eighty thousand other spirits, who are called upon by a shaman for assistance in driving off evil spirits. The Koreans also erect, privately, shrines to these secondary spirits.

The spirits which have greatly affected the lives of many Koreans are the mountain spirits. Korea is a mountainous country, and the Koreans are mountaineers. Brought up amidst these huge masses of rock and earth, taught from earliest childhood to scale their heights, spending his days in their ever-changing lights and shadows which seem to give new forms to the mountains themselves, the Korean finds an air of mystery about mountains, and this mystery has penetrated his innermost soul. He loves them, does not understand them, and fears them. But of all the mysteries of his mountains, that which pleases and at the same time terrifies him most, is the San Sin or Mountain Spirit.

The people believe that the Mountain Spirit dwells somewhere up on the slope towards the summit and is the real proprietor of the soil. Thus when the country folks go to gather wood in the forests on the rugged sides of the mountain, they feel somewhat like intruders and fear they will be punished for the "theft."

When the wood gatherers assemble at their mid-day meal, they cast the first spoonful of rice out on the mountainside to San Sin. They dread to offend him; and if a sickle slips and a hand or foot is cut, or a sudden fall results in a broken limb, they wonder what offense they have committed against San Sin.

Sometimes San Sin is represented by a picture of an old man clad in official robes of high rank and sitting on a

tiger. Most of the San Sin are represented as males, and in this case the shrines dedicated to him will also contain portraits of the members of his harem. The tiger is held to be the special servant and messenger of San Sin, and this adds to the terror in which he is held.

Sometimes, when a man-eating tiger plunders a neighborhood, as they did very often until about sixty years ago, the people will conclude that San Sin is angry with them and has sent the tiger to afflict them. Then the people hasten to the nearest shrine to appease the spirit's wrath with offerings.

This spirit is also considered to be the special god of hermits, who were supposed to have spent one hundred days in prayer to him, fasting and bathing, and trusting to secure an interview with San Sin for his advice or aid in some special enterprise. People who do this are ever afterwards held in sanctity by their neighbors. The spirit is very often seen in their dreams. He is often with his tiger. These visions are omens of good luck and they are delighted to have one.

Throughout Korea, it was once very common to see heaps of stones piled up beneath some trees or clumps of bushes. On the branches of the tree were found offerings of scraps of paper, rags, cast-off garments, coins, locks of hair, sometimes effigies of human beings, or utensils. It is at these piles of stones, or in the tree that the local gods are supposed to reside. The tree becomes sacred to the Koreans, and is known as a spirit tree. People often prostrate themselves before the stone pile and beg the spirits for assistance, such as curing a sick child. Travelers also pray before the stones while they pass, adding a stone to the pile.

Among the most universally known, feared, and detested inhabitants of the spirit world are the goblins. Many of the Korean goblins are supposed to be the souls of men who have met a violent death. They are always represented as dwarfs and, like the fairies of old, can assume different shapes in which to deceive men.

Empty houses will always be occupied by them and once they get in, it is hard to get them out. They often take a fancy to a home or village, and then life becomes unbearable for the unfortunate inhabitants.

The dragon is very well known among the Koreans and is called a Yong. It is a water monster and has its dwelling place in deep pools and in wells, ponds and lakes and along the river banks. This superstition about the dragon, which may have originated somewhere in India, is probably as old as the Korean people themselves. It is one of the most universal of man's myths, and the fact that it is the common property of the various races on earth is testimony to the unity of mankind.

In 1900, Rev. George H. Jones wrote: "I think that most Koreans believe in his (the dragon's) actual existence and one in every ten Koreans you meet anywhere in the land would probably declare that at some time in his life he had seen a dragon."[2]

The new owner of a house will be certain that he makes offerings to all of the gods of the house. If one of his family falls sick, he will seek out the former owner of the house, and find out again the names of all the gods, comparing it with his list so as to be sure he has not omitted one in his offerings.

The spirits are all about the Koreans. They dance in front of him, follow behind him, fly over his head and are plastered into or pinned on the walls, or tied to the beams, thus giving the Korean no refuge from them, not even in his own house.

Although spirit worship in Korea is becoming less and less evident, there were many automobile accidents when the Americans entered Korea that were, according to Korean belief, due to an evil spirit following every person.

Confucianism.

To understand the Korean people, we must understand Confucianism, a dogma which controls the social life of the Koreans. Confucianism is not a religion in the strict sense of the word, but a code of morals which has shaped Korean life for over five hundred years.

A century before Columbus set foot on American soil, Confucianism became dominant in the Asiatic peninsula. With the birth of the Yi dynasty, Buddhism, which had been blamed as a detrimental factor in the previous Silla dynasty, was

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[2] Ibid., p. 78

cast out as the state religion, and the Confucian doctrine was revived as the official "religion" in 1392.

Confucius, who lived from 550 to 478 B. C., was a scholar and statesman who resided in China near the city of Shantung. When he was twenty-two he established a school for young and enquiring spirits who wished to be instructed in the principles of right conduct and matters of government.

He taught his disciples that society was made up of five relationships:[3] (1) ruler and subject, (2) husband and wife, (3) father and son, (4) elder brother and younger brother, and (5) between friends. To gain a well ordered society, five virtues must be applied to the above relationships: (1) love of humanity, showing consideration of another's feelings and emotions, (2) justice, assigning each person to his place in society and his duties, (3) reverence, acknowledging other's rights and duties, (4) wisdom, learning the difference between good and evil, and (5) sincerity, truthfulness of purpose.

The most cardinal virtue was filial piety, a combination of loyalty and reverence, which demanded that a son show respect to his father and silently perform the demands of his elders whether they seemed just or unjust. "Superior man" was said to be the ultimate result of a successful application of the virtues to the relationships. Instead of an ethereal deity to which virtue should be shown, a practical, attainable goal was laid out. The equation for realizing it was given in order that man might better himself for the immediate life on earth rather than a cosmic "hereafter."

The great teacher defined the qualities of "superior man"; willpower, "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness"; fortitude, "to see what is right and not to do it, is want of courage"; self-control, "Want of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans"; moderation, "Pride should not be allowed to grow. The desires should not be indulged. The will should not be gratified to the full. Pleasure should not be carried to excess"; righteousness, "Man is born for uprightness. If a man loses his uprightness and yet lives, his escape is the result of mere good fortune"; humility, "I am not concerned that I have no place; I am concerned how I fit myself for one. I am not concerned that I am not known; I seek to be worthy

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[3]James Legge, The Works of Mencius, The Four Books, p. 630.

to be known"; aspiration, "The scholar does not deem gold and jade precious, but loyalty and good faith. He does not crave broad lands and possessions, but holds the rectification of himself, his domain. He asks not great wealth but looks upon the many sided culture as true riches"; and prudence, "If a man takes no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."[4]

As mentioned before, filial piety was the cardinal virtue and demanded that a son be a credit to his father, and that he show reverence to the elder.

"Of all creatures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all man's actions there is none greater than filial piety," commented Confucius, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies." The ancient sage provided for this virtue by observing, "our bodies, to every hair and shred of skin, are received from our parents. We must not presume to injure or to wound them. This is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of this filial course, so as to make our name famous in future ages and thereby glorify our parents, this is the end of filial piety."

"There are three degrees of filial piety," he explained, "The highest is being a credit to our parents; the next is not disgracing them; and the lowest is merely being able to support them."[5]

Application of the virtues in the relationship between husband and wife goes to such extremes that within their own home man and woman should have separate rooms, the outer or social room being reserved for the man and the inner room for the woman. No male other than her husband may set foot into the woman's part of the house under any circumstances except for extreme emergencies. In the outer chamber all entertaining and social life is executed, and the only ones who are permitted to see the lady of the house are her husband, close relatives, and her children. The respective duties of man and wife are clearly defined. The former takes care of all the business outside the home and is the

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[4]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 68

[5]Ibid., p. 69

complete master of the family. The latter has the care and teaching of the children, supervision of the household servants and the pursuit of ladylike tasks within the home. Whenever a lady appears on the street she must wear a head covering and some form of veil across the lower part of her face to shield her features from all males.

Through the recent modernization of Korean society an observer occasionally sees a man and wife walking together in the streets, but this is contrary to the strict Confucian principles of segregation between sexes. Until recent years, women were given no place in the social life, but with the advent of girls' schools during the Japanese occupation, the upper class lady has learned new liberties and has become more than just a child bearer and housekeeper in the Korean society.

On the subject of death and immortality, Confucius said "That the bones and flesh should return to earth is what is appointed, but the soul in its energy can go everywhere." From this belief stems the practice of ancestral worship in the religion. Upon the death of a parent the son goes into mourning for a period of three years. During that time he will wear sack cloth, and once in the month of November and again on the fifteenth day of August he and his family will carry food and flowers to a Confucian shrine as offerings to their deceased relative. On the birth and death dates of the deceased, sacrificial rites are performed before clay tablets in the home. These rituals constitute the only "religion" in Confucianism. Upon the death of the father, the son takes over control of the family and business. Members of the family will always be very careful not to breach etiquette or perform any act which would bring disrespect upon their ancestors. Because of this it is very difficult for any modernization to take place in the way of life of a Confucian household since any change in the established order might bring ill fame to the ancestors.

Until the occupation by the Japanese, the Korean society was governed rigidly by the ultra-conservative Confucianistic doctrines which had become stagnant due to their requirements as to sexual segregation, ancestral worship and mimicry, and complete subservience of the son to the elder. What was considered good enough for the parents was considered good enough for the son and there was no attempt at modernization until the Japanese entered with their Western ways and forcefully set an example which has slowly created a new stimulus

in the Korean society. With the occupation by Americans, the Korean people are observing new forms of modernization, and are realizing a new freedom which will allow them to advance into a more modern world purged of narrow prejudices.

Seonggyunguan, the bulwark of Confucianism, was established in Myeongnundong, Seoul, in 1397, the seventh year of King Tae-jo, the founder of the Yi dynasty. In the following year the Confucian Shrine and Myeongnyun Hall were completed. The purpose was to propagate Chinese literature and the teachings of Confucius, to recruit able young men and foster scholars, to make people respect the wise, and to educate them in the spirit of morality. At that time, it was the only national university and had several other names indicative of its prominence, such as Taeyhak (Great Learning) or Kukhak (National Learning). It also served as the government agent of Kwageo, the civil service examination system.

During the period of Japanese domination, some Korean scholars who collaborated with the regime changed the name of Seonggyungwan to Kyeonghagweon, to which the Myeongnyun College was attached and in which education was carried on under restrictive regulations till Korea was liberated on August 15, 1945.

In September, 1946, Confucian scholars restored the name Seonggyungwan and formed the National Confucian Association. Kim Chang-suk, a patriotic scholar, was elected its first chairman, and the Myeongnyun College became Seonggyungwan University. Its development was interrupted by the North Korean Communist attack on June 25, 1950 and the University took refuge in Pusan, where it continued its education in a tent on the campus of Pusan High School. With the restoration of the capital in September, 1953, the University returned to Seoul.

The National Confucian Association aims at modernizing Confucianism by carrying out the following programs:[6]

1. further develop Seonggyungwan, local Confucian shrines, and the Seonggyungwan University,
2. disseminate Confucian literature,
3. promote education, culture and related matters,
4. promote studies on politics and economy.

[6]UNESCO, UNESCO Korean Survey, p. 40.

Taeseongjeon, the Confucian Shrine, was built in 1398. After several fires, it was restored in 1610. Enshrined there are Confucius, Yen Tzu, Tseng Tzu, Tzu Ssu, Mencius, 18 scholars of Korea and two of the Sung dynasty.

The Seonggyungwan Foundation was established on April 30, 1954 with the property of Seonggyungwan plus one-third of that of the local shrines. It aims at elucidating morality and promoting culture and socially beneficial work. Its operations include offering sacrifices at shrines, maintaining and developing local shrines and the Seonggyungwan University, operating or aiding educational and social work, scientific research, disseminating sciences and arts, and other work which favors the spread of Confucianism.

The most urgent problem confronting Confucianism at present is to liquidate the remnants of feudalism and to help create a society in the spirit of morality taught by Confucius, Toegye, Yulgok and their followers. Five million people in Korea profess Confucianism, and the Korean people, as a whole, consciously or unconsciously live Confucian lives.

Buddhism.

According to legend, in the fifth century BC there lived in India a young prince whose name was Gautama Siddhartha. Until he was twelve years of age he was not permitted to go beyond the gates of his luxurious palace. On his first visit to the world beyond the palace gates, the Prince, for the first time in his life, saw a person who was old and weak. On the following day the Prince encountered a person who was sick, and on the next journey he came upon a dead body. Cautama soon felt that the world was full of sorrow and misery.

On his fourth journey the Prince met a priest. The priest told Gautama that if he would break away from his family, cut his hair and leave the palace to become a man of religion, he could escape the miseries of life. When the Prince returned to the palace, he told his father, the King, that he desired to give up his princehood, depart from the palace, and strive to be of benefit to others. Reluctantly the King gave his consent and Gautama left his home and his kingdom.

He became a hermit in the wilds of the Himalaya mountains and lived for six years a life of self-denial in order to discipline himself into reaching a high spiritual and intellectual state. He believed that life is continuous and when one dies he is born again either as another man, a beast, a god, or a devil. Every life is full of misery and sorrow, but if an individual is able to free his mind from all emotions and desires, he will enter "Nirvana," "the other shore of the great ocean of birth and death."

With his mind full of such thoughts, Gautama began preaching near the banks of the Ganges River in India telling people that:[7]

1. All existence is misery.

2. This misery is the result of man's craving for what this world and the world beyond offers.

3. It is possible to extinguish this craving and therefore escape the misery of existence.

4. There is a path leading to the extinction of thirst and craving. On this path there are eight gates. Passing through them helps reaching Nirvana, the Supreme Heaven. These gates are: Right Views, Right Aims, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Means of livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Contemplation, and Right Concentration.

Thus, Gautama became an object of worship to many people of Asia, he received the title "Buddha," and his preachings became known as Buddhism.

All forms of Buddhism agree that the Buddhist canon of scripture (which would correspond roughly to the Bible) is divided into three sections as follows: (a) The Vinaya section, which gives the disciplinary rules for a follower of Buddhism, (b) the Sutta section, which professes to quote from Buddha's preachings, and (c) the Abhidhamma section, which includes a number of philosophical essays. Buddhism, however, has the extraordinary capacity for absorbing into its system any religious beliefs which may have been prevalent in a country before Buddhism was introduced, and therefore, the contents of the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma sections are vastly different in various sections of Asia.

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[7]Department of Army, op. cit., p. 83.

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, is known as Gautama Buddha. According to Buddhist theory, however, the universe in which we live has passed through many previous periods of existence of "Kalpas" and each Kalpa produced other Buddhas. In the present Kalpa, Gautama Buddha was preceded by three other Buddhas, and is yet to be followed by another Buddha, Miryek. All devout Buddhists are awaiting the advent of Miryek. Every Buddha lives many lives before reaching the attainment of Buddhahood, and Gautama Buddha is supposed to have had five hundred and fifty lives, the final life being in the form of the prince, Siddhartha. The next Buddha, Miryek, has not yet lived his final life, but is devoting himself to the salvation of others and is known as a Bodhisattva. Besides numerous existences on earth, as a preliminary to the attainment of Buddhahood, the individual also passes through a great number of existences in Heaven and Hell as man or beast or spirit.

Gautama Buddha, however, is not the most popular Buddha in Korea; instead, the famous Amida Buddha, that is unknown to Southern Buddhism, is the most prominent in Korea. In some of the largest and most popular Buddhist temples Amida occupies a place even higher than Gautama and most devotions are addressed to him. One of the reasons for Amida's popularity is that he offers all true Buddhists a blissful "Heaven in the West," a promised land to which it is easier to attain entrance than to Nirvana. The ultimate goal of all Buddhist followers is the "Nirvana," an existence of holiness in which there is complete happiness. Nirvana is the highest of the Buddha heavens.

At the present time, Buddhism is practically unknown in India, the land of its birth. Buddhism, however, is the religion of practically all of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, and Mongolia; while in China, Japan and Korea there are also many followers. It is probable that up to the present moment in history, more people have sought salvation through Buddhism than through any other religious system.

The variety of Buddhism in China, Japan and Korea is known as "Northern Buddhism" or Mahayana; the Buddhism of Ceylon, Siam and Burma is "Southern Buddhism" or Hinayana. The sacred language of "Northern Buddhism" is Sanskrit, and it is from Scriptures written in Sanskrit that practically all knowledge of early Buddhism is derived.

Early Buddhist missionaries moved from India toward Persia, but Mohammedanism gained a stronger hold on the people of Western Asia, therefore the Buddhist missionaries moved into China from Persia. Authorities believe the religion came through Western Asia because of the marked difference between Northern and Southern Buddhism.

The first Buddhist missionary came to Korea in the year 372 AD. From Koguryo, the northern-most of the three kingdoms that composed ancient Korea, the religion spread rapidly through Paekche and Silla, and before the close of the sixth century reached Japan. The development of Buddhism in Korea was heavily influenced by what was going on in China. So, when Tibet adopted a form of Buddhism that was partly Northern and partly Southern, along with new ideas involving the use of spells and mysticism, Chinese and Korean Buddhism became affected by this strange conglomerate religion known as Lamaism.

Shortly after the introduction of Buddhism into Korea, came Confucianism. Whereas Buddhism was too mystical to appeal to the majority of the people, Confucianism, on the other hand, was too cold and materialistic to appeal to the Koreans. Both these religions blended with the original spirit-worship to form a religion practiced by most Koreans. As a rule, women are followers of Buddhism because that religion places them in a higher social position than does Confucianism.

Buddhism reached its peak in Korea during the Koryo period (918-1392 A.D.), when it was the religion of the state. In its development Korean Buddhism has frequently been a potent influence in national affairs, and its power was at times so great as to practically control the Korean court and nullify decrees of the King. Many of the social and political revolutions in Korea were led by Buddhist priests. Most of the priests were well-educated and were thus able to act as scribes, law-givers, counselors, and secretaries. Even under the early Japanese rule, many high officers of the government were Buddhist priests.

The Korean Buddhist temples and monasteries are often situated on hills and a few are even on high mountains. Around the temple is a wall of lofty trees, and at some distance from the temple there is usually a gateway with a massive curved roof of tiles. The gateway is flanked by a wall of plaster, tiled at the top. Over the gate, the name

of the temple is inscribed either in Chinese or in Sanskrit. In front of the temple in a roofed shed hangs a drum which a Buddhist monk beats for hours for prayer.

Korean Buddhists believe that the six virtues of charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation, and wisdom must be attained in order to pass from this world of misery to "the other shore."

The Ten Commandments of Buddhism are:[8]

1. Not to kill any living thing.
2. Not to steal.
3. Not to commit impurity.
4. Not to lie.
5. Not to drink wine.
6. Not to eat flesh at unseasonable times.
7. Not to take part in singing, dancing, or theatrical performances.
8. Not to use flowers or perfumes for personal adornment.
9. Not to sit on a high, broad bed or couch.
10. Not to possess gold, silver, or jewels.

When the Yi dynasty came to power in Korea during the fourteenth century, Buddhism fell into a disfavor from which it has never recovered. Even during the Yi dynasty, however, it was the custom to erect a Buddhist temple near every royal tomb. Buddhism in Korea, at the present time, can best be summarized by quoting from a passage in "Buddhism as a Religion," by Hackmann in a U.S. Army publication entitled Korea.

It reads as follows:

The picture which confronts the student of Buddhism in Korea is on the whole a very dull and faded one. Possibly this is true, possibly also the day of Buddhism in Korea is past. Still, enough of that past survives into the present day to show how powerful Buddhism once was and to make its study one of enthralling interest. For a thousand years -- from 372 to 1392 A.D. -- it exercised an almost undisputed sway over the inhabitants of this peninsula -- a sway so prolonged and so indisputed that it cannot fail to have left its mark. The number of its professed adherents may be comparatively small and many of its most famous shrines have fallen into decay, but the countless solitary stone pagodas

[8]Ibid., p. 87.

and figures of Miryek to be found all over the country bear witness to the former extent of what must have been once a very living faith. There is hardly a mountain in Korea whose name does not bear testimony to the domination of Buddhist ideas and phraseology in the older days. The place-names of many a village and hamlet (Pagoda village, Temple Valley, Township of Buddha's Glory, Village of Buddha's Mercy, and the like) tell the same tale. Possibly, too, in that indefinable charm and affectionateness of manner which is found in the Korean people is to be seen an even clearer mark of the past influence of that Great Teacher (Buddha), who, whatever his faults and shortcomings, certainly laid supreme stress on gentleness and kindness to others.[9]

In conformity with the regulations on Buddhism during the Japanese regime there was one general headquarters and 31 district headquarters under which, in turn, there were 1,200 or more small temples. Each temple had a chief priest and under him three temple officials who administered the temple's affairs.

With the Liberation on August 15, 1945, the Japanese system was swept away. At a joint conference of all the provincial administrative officers, a new charter was adopted The present Korean Buddhist organization is a completely autonomous one. Each administrative province has its provincial propagation district. Each provincial district has an administrative office to govern the temples under its jurisdiction. In the capital is the General Headquarters that governs the provincial offices. The Deliberation Council and the Inspection Office is also in Seoul.

Korean Buddhism has strengthened its organization and launched a cultural and educational program. At the same time, by converting their properties, the Buddhist authorities have come to operate businesses in various fields. Originally all Korean temples owned farm lands. Their revenue covered the expenses. The products of the land ranged from 10 seok of grain to scores of thousands (a seok equals about six bushels). During the Land Reform of 1949 the temples received land value certificates. However, since then the temples have regained 80,000 cheongbo (cheongbo = 3,000 pyeong) of the forest, therefore they have become somewhat self-sufficient.

Since the liberation an increasing number of Buddhists have been engaged in various activities such as social,

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[9]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 88.

educational, economic, business, military and so forth. Many of the priests and lay believers are engaged in rebuilding or repairing temples and Buddhist treasures. The most conspicuous work is, however, their educational service.

Korean Buddhists operate Tongguk University which is composed of a College of Liberal Arts, a College of Law and Political Science, a College of Agriculture, and a Graduate School. There are three other separate colleges, the Haein, the Weongwang, the Kyeonggi Women's, eight senior high schools, and 13 junior high schools, 33 educational centers such as higher civic schools, Buddhist institutes, kindergartens, and so on. They also run 12 charity organizations such as orphanages, old-age asylums, inns for poor travellers, worker's houses, all free of charge.

(2) Modern Religions (Korean)

Chondogyo

Tonghak, the precursor of the native religion, Chondogyo, was founded by a scholar named Choe Che-u of Kyeongju, North Kyeongsang Province in 1860, the 11th year of King Cheolshong. The state of the nation, national and international, in his days was such that he had to proclaim a new religion.

When Tonghak was first founded in 1864, it was a religious sect which had adopted doctrines from Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity. The name "Tonghak" means Eastern Learning, to distinguish it from the Western Learning, or Roman Catholicism.

The origin and characteristics of Tonghak are as follows: As all living beings absorb nourishment from the outside, so Korean culture introduced alien elements to endure, grow, and enrich itself. During the days of the Three Kingdoms, Korea introduced culture from China, the most conspicuous elements being Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism.

Buddhism, which flourised in the Koryo dynasty, declined and fell. So did Confucianism in the Yi dynasty. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism which alternately dominated Korean life for more than 1,000 years have undoubtedly left their imprints. Certainly, their influence was a mixed blessing. On the one hand, they promoted Korean

culture, while on the other, they have hindered national development and growth. Alien culture can be compared to food. If we take nourishment from the outside, what we absorb from it becomes our blood, flesh and bone, and what we cannot digest often causes diseases and even death.

Some of the evils resulting from the acceptance of alien ideas were blind worship of something foreign, servility, partisanship, and spiritural depression. The evils grew to such heights that Korea showed symptoms of losing her identity one or two centuries ago. It was high time for Koreans to observe, examine, and determine what was good for them and what was harmful. In other words, they had to find a remedy by retaining the beneficial elements and rejecting harmful ones of alien ideas and ideology. Out of this national necessity, emerged the native school of religion Tonghak.

The evils increased until officialdom became steeped in practices of corruption and graft. Even the self-vaunted cardinal virtues of Confucianism existed in name only. Class antagonism between noble and commoner became so acute that a born fool of a noble family could enjoy wealth and power while wise and able men of common stock had to remain in obscurity. No semblance of human rights was known to the commoners, their life and property being at the mercy of the nobles. Bad crops with their subsequent results of famine visited the commoners, and exploitation by aristocracy went unchecked. Through it all, there was no national policy to alleviate the distress of the poor and low.

The Western imperialistic nations were intruding into the backward nations of the Far East, their customary practice being first to pacify the native people, then to commence operations of occupation at the point of a bayonet. Thus India, Indo-China, the Philippines, etc. were conquered by the Western powers, while China began to make concessions. A similar fate was imminent for Korea.

In this situation of external pressure and internal decay, all the Koreans could do was resort to occult books or superstituon, some going to Mt. Kyeryong, others going into other deep mountains, and still others to remote islands for salvation and consolation. The pathetic and miserable condition of the masses was, indeed, beyond description.

Out of this troubled age, there emerged a man whose conviction was that no individual could be saved unless the nation and humanity as a whole were. This was Choe Che-u (Su-un), founder of Tonghak. For a long time, he sought a new way of salvation, suffering hardships of many kinds. As a child has to grow and develop in the womb of his mother before he begins to see the light of the world, so Koreans must grow and develop in the faith of Han or Hannunim for several thousand years before they may see the modern form of religion based upon their national thought. Such was the conclusion drawn by this founder of Korea's own religion.

Development of Tonghak.

In order to discover a new way to save the people from misery and distress, Choe wandered about the whole land for more than twenty years from the age of 16 to 37. His zeal and sincerity were so great that God was moved, at last, and summoning him, said, "I will teach you a new way by which you can save your people who are in misery and distress."[10] To sum up the process of the ordeal, one day in April he fell sick of an unknown ailment, and was shivering all over, when he heard a voice which did not come from any human being. It was the voice of a spirit which said, "Fear not and doubt not. I am the one whom people call Ha-nu-nim. Don't you recognize me?"[11]

"What will you teach me?"[12]

"Since I have been meritless in the past, I created you in order to save the world. I will teach you a new way, don't you doubt it."[13]

"Shall I teach and lead the people in Western Learning?"[14]

"No, that is not the right way. I have a Sacred Order whose name is Seon-yak (sacred medicine) and whose shape is like the Taegeuk. By this you can lead and teach the people. If you teach them in my name, you will live long and you can spread your virtues among them."[15]

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[10] UNESCO, op. cit., p. 48.
[11] Loc. cit.
[12] Loc. cit.
[13] Loc. cit.
[14] Loc. cit.
[15] Loc. cit.

This is part of the passages written by Choe Che-u himself to describe his conversion. The Sacred Order, yeongbu, was cheondo (Heavenly Way) symbolized by the Taegeuk, the ultimate principle of the universe and the basic principle of Oriental philosophy, symbolizing the popular faith of the Korean people.

Like other religious founders, Choe Che-u too, was ordained by Heaven. Obviously, the conversation between God and Choe was not an objective fact, but rather a subjective phenomenon which took place in his consciousness. The conversation was not a result of logical and analytic thinking; instead, it was a synthetic and intuitive awakening. This, however, is not to say that the god existing in his consciousness and the god existing objectively were two different, independent beings.

Before he began to preach, he spent one or two years to reaffirm whether or not it was the right way to save the world. It was in 1861 when he proclaimed, "Oh, multitudes who are suffering from the evils of the world! I have found the true way. Don't wander in the stray way but follow me. Many a man suffered death because the old way was wrong. From now on we must live a new life in accordance with the new way. The old way was discriminative; the few enjoyed wealth and power while the lot of the majority was doomed to suffering, death, and oppression. From now on we will live a life of serving the people as we do Heaven. We will live a happy life because we will live the life of liberty and equality."[16]

Once this message was given, the common people suffering from oppression and exploitation and those who roamed about with bundles on their heads and with burdens on their backs began to gather under the banner of Tonghak.

Tonghak is based upon the view of life derived from the Theory of Pure Force (chi-gi-ron). A Treatise on Learning says, "The ultimate force is too remote and pure for definition. It does not interfere with anything. It does not command anyone what to do. Its shape is beyond description. We seem to hear it but it is difficult to see. The ultimate force is the pure force differentiated into a myriad of concrete things. The pure force is distributed into everything in the universe. In the light of modern science, the life of the individual creature seems understandable and yet life

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[16] Ibid.

itself is not grasped. Once we understand the ultimate force of the universe we may understand the individual life distributed among all things in the universe."

Concerning spirits the same scripture says, "You may say that you understand what the sky and the earth are. And yet you cannot say that you understand what spirits are. This is so because I, God, am the spirit."[17]

The Song on Morality says, "Heaven and earth are spirits. The spirit is eum (negative) and yang (positive)."[18] In other words, the primal force of every movement of things in the universe, sky, earth, sun, and even the lifting of a hand or a foot is controlled by the spirit. All this shows that Tonghak is based upon a theory of power of life.

Secondly, Tonghak is based upon the theory of non-actionism, in other words, the becoming or development of the whole universe is based upon doing by non-doing. Since everything, the ultimate reality or every individual being, is a living thing, nothing can cause a thing to grow or not to grow.

Everything gets old as time passes by, and out of the old thing, a new thing grows. Thus changes take place and the universe endures. Change can be seen in the function of breathing, in which old air is exhaled and the new is inhaled. A similarity can be found in the development of personality, in the succession of generations, and in social changes. All this is caused by the principle of development, doing by non-doing. The principle of non-constancy is also caused by the principle of doing by non-doing or the principle of change and development.

The Man-Heaven Theory can be explained in three steps. First, God, the ultimate reality, is represented in individual life. Second, of all individual lives, human life is the highest form. Since human life is the highest form, men are all equal in their rights. Third, when man, the highest form of life, is developed to the perfect degree, he is the same as God. On the other hand, when a man commits evils, sins, and mistakes, he will be degraded to the status of an animal.

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[17]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 49.

[18]Ibid.

The New Faith of Si-cheon-ju holds that individuals are always with and humbly attending upon Cheon-ju, the Lord of Heaven. It is meant to say that a man, being an individual, cannot stay in severance from God, the whole. For individual and whole cannot be severed from each other, the two concepts being inseparable.

Old theories held that God is in the highest place, very far off from human beings. Men felt at times that they could get away with things not permissible before God. However, in this new Creed of the Cheondogyo followers, since man is always in the state of si-cheon-ju, literally, waiting upon the Lord, he cannot commit sin, nor can he cloak it. Furthermore, the new faith holds that the essence of religious life is mental tranquility and that faith in Si-cheon-ju, waiting upon the Lord, makes us tranquil. As a child is tranquil when he is with his parents, so a man is tranquil when he realizes that he is with the Lord. When men realize this principle, they will become peaceful, and the kingdom of heaven on earth will be realized.

New Morality of Co-virtues means that one must live as well as others. In other words, the standard of morality is that the end of a man's conduct is not only of benefit to the individual but to the whole society, nation, and the world. Therefore, a man must not be allowed to deprive others of their rights or liberties, nor should he be deprived of his own rights or liberties.

The "Aim of Long Life" theory is neither that of Christian immortality nor that of Taoistic physical immortality. It is a theory of personality. It holds that once a man attains perfect personality, he lives eternally in this world like Admiral Yi Sun-sin, who lives forever in the blood of the Korean people.

For ten years after the Japanese annexation of Korea, Son Byeong-heui, the third successor, did his best to expand the influence of Cheondogyo and the anti-Japanese movement. It was he who played the major role in the Independence Movement of 1919 in cooperation with Christians and Buddhists. Imprisoned as the leader of the Independence Movement, he fell sick in jail and was bailed out. He died in May, 1922.

After the loss of this great leader, Cheondogyo split into four sects: conservatives led by Pak In-ho; progressives led by Cheo Rin; a group known as the Sa-ri-weon Sect

led by O Chi-yeong. The last two sects, being localized in the north, were powerless separately, therefore after several up and downs in their respective fortunes, they merged and became a conspicuous force of opposition to Communism. Several hundred leaders among them were imprisoned and massacred along with several hundred thousand lay believers before the UN and ROK armies marched north on the heels of the retreating North Korean forces during the recent war.

When the Allied Forces, in their turn, retreated before the Chinese Communist troops, scores of thousands of the Cheondogyo believers who had survived the massacre fled south. It is believed that except for a few who favor the Communist regime, the remnants of the Cheondogyo followers in the north are still cherishing their beliefs secretly under the Communist rule.

Cheondogyo today:[19]

Number of Churches	376
Church Workers	9,247
Number of Believers	1,459,713

(3) Christianity in Korea

Roman Catholicism

Since Korea was a country inferior in size and importance to her neighbors, and was surrounded by dangerous seas, she failed, until quite recent times, to attract the attention of the world in any extensive measure. It was not until 1592 that a Westerner first set foot in Korea. In that year Toyotomi Hideyoshi, of Japan, undertook the invasion of Korea. With him, to minister to his troops, part of whom were Christians, he took a Catholic Priest, Father Gregorio do Cespedes. This campaign was short lived, however, and there were no effects of the Father's ministry left in Korea.

The first great step in the missionary discovery of Korea was the introduction of Roman Catholicism through a Catholic book inadvertently left at the King's palace in Korea in 1631 by a Japanese envoy. It was discovered by two Koreans who, after reading it, started to preach and finally converted one young man by the name of Yi Seung Hoon. This man went to Peking with the annual envoy and was baptized while he was there.

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[19] UNESCO, op. cit., p. 49.

Every year, from 1631 to 1864, Korea sent an envoy to the Peking Government to pay tribute. Some of the retainers of the envoy met Catholic priests there, and some even attended the Catholic services. Some of them brought with them works of such missionaries in China as Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall and Verbjest. One of them was a book entitled Introduction of Catholic Religion, and it attracted their special attention.

In 1783, when Yi Tong-wug was appointed as the third envoy to China, his son, Seung-hun, accompanied him to Peking. Seung-hun studied Catholicism thoroughly. He visited Alexandre Govea, an Italian missionary priest stationed in Peking, passed the catechism examinations, and was baptized with the Christian name of Peter. Thus he became formally the first Catholic of Korea.

In the following year, 1784, he returned home carrying some religious articles and the Bible, and began to spread the teaching among the people of learning and virtue. He baptized Yi Teog-jo, giving him the Christian name of John the Baptist, who in turn, baptized Kweon Il-sin. These three pioneers worked together and converted many people. Hence, the year of 1784 became a memorable year for the Korean Catholic believers.

However, the new faith suffered successive persecutions in 1785, 1801, 1839, 1846, and 1869. Despite these intermittent persecutions, the Foreign Mission Society of Paris sent missionaries to Korea continuously.

Finally Korean Catholics obtained freedom of worship as a result of the treaties of friendship with some of the Western nations in 1882, and the Korean Catholic Church made rapid progress. In 1898 the Catholics held a grand ceremony for the consecration of the Seoul Cathedral. In 1911, the Korean Diocese was divided into two, the Seoul Diocese and the Taegu Diocese.

Various orders including the Foreign Mission Society of Paris, the St. Paul Congregation, St. Benedict, the Maryknoll Society, and the Society of Jesus began in 1836 to send a stream of missionaries to build churches, monasteries, schools, and hospitals. By 1930 the number of believers reached 105,000 and there were 400 church functionaries.

In 1947, the Vatican established the Pope's Mission in Korea, and appointed the Most Reverend Bishop Patrick J. Byrne the first Apostolic Delegate. Statistics issued by the Pope's Mission in June 1958 show the following figures:

Population of South Korea	:	20,232,392
Catholic Believers	:	354,843
Preparatory Believers	:	102,587
Korean Fathers	:	191
Foreign Fathers	:	144
Korean Sisters	:	536
Foreign Sisters	:	90

Institutes

Churches with Fathers	:	218
Churches without Fathers	:	1,885
Kindergartens	:	32
Elementary Schools	:	6
Junior High Schools	:	20
Senior High Schools	:	17
Colleges	:	2

According to Father Mun-Kun Yi, Chonghyun Catholic Church, Seoul, presently (1964) there are 1,004 churches, nine parishes, three archibishops, 250 Korean priests, 190 foreign priests, and over 600,000 believers. The church also operates three colleges, five vocational schools, 20 high schools, and 30 hospitals across the country.[20]

The Protestant Churches.

The introduction of Roman Catholicism into Korea was a miracle. This was acknowledged by many, including Fr. Alexandre and Mgr. de Guebrant who declared, on the occasion of a memorial service for the Martyrs of the Korean Catholic Church, that the Korean Catholic Church was a unique one in the history of missionary enterprises. Koreans began to believe in Christianity by merely studying Christian literatures without initial guidance from missionaries.

The same miracle took place in the introduction of the Protestant churches. Protestantism, too, came into being spontaneously among Koreans who had studied Christian literatures. Churches had been in existence several years before the systematic activities of missionaries began to take place.

[20]Korean Report, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 29-31.

In 1884, John Ross of Scotland, who had been engaged in missionary work in Manchuria, visited with his fellow missionaries four Korean settlements in northeastern Manchuria and found some Christians who had been converted by reading and studying Christian literatures. Ross and his company baptized as many as eighty-five Koreans there.

In the same year, Horace Newton Allen, M. D., came to Korea to look for a new ground for missionary work.

The first practicing missionaries were Henry Gerhart Appenseller of the Methodist Church and H. G. Underwood of the Presbyterian Church, who landed at Inchon on Easter Day, April 5, 1885. Before they came to Korea there was already a Protestant Church established in Sorae in Hwanghae Province, the native place of Seo Sang-yun who helped Ross in Manchuria to translate the Bible into Korean since 1870. Seo returned home to Sorae in the capacity of colporteur of the British Bible Society, and disseminated Christian literatures among the people of his native place. In Sorae, as in Manchuria, people were converted to Christianity by reading Christian literatures. Spontaneous movements of this nature took place many places in Korea. For this reason, K. S. Latourette, a church historian, said that the growth and development of the Korean church was one of the marvels of modern church history.

The wonderful development of the Korean church was influenced by several factors. One was the strong Korean desire for Westernization and modernization. The materialization of this desire was suppressed by the Japanese during the Japanese occupation, but the suppression gave rise to a nationalistic awakening. In proportion as the Koreans became anti-Japanese, they became pro-Western. Those of progressive tendencies who had lost faith in Confucianism and Buddhism were in a state of mental turmoil.

But this factor alone is not enough to explain Korea's unique acceptance of Christianity. Pro-Western sentiments and the strong desire for modernization and escape from both isolation and backwardness were but the historical setting in which something else was stirring. The decisive factors seem to have been: first, the message inherent in the Christian teachings; and second, the religious insight of the Koreans to whom the message was given.

Since Christianity developed from Judaism, it was readily accepted by peoples who believed that they were themselves heaven-descended. And at the same time, since Christianity contained universal truths and was based upon the concept of human brotherhood, it gradually spread all over the world. Seen from this point of view, Christianity had many points in common with the other religions in which Koreans believed.

It was very important that the Christian object of worship, rendered by the term God, was similar to the Korean traditional religious concept of hananim. Among the early missionaries there were conflicting arguments as to whether they should translate God as hananim. The late Dr. J.S. Gale, who had profound knowledge of Korean culture, made a special study of the use of the term hananim in Korean classics. His conclusion was that there is a great difference between the Chinese term t'ien and hananim. The Korean concept of hananim is personalized, and there similar to the Christian idea of God, whereas Chinese t'ien is not.

To be sure, in Christianity there are two fundamental facts: the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the former being the indication of God's judgment on human sin (pessimism), and the latter, that of his victory (optimism).

Koreans used to have good customs which were based upon the ethical view of life and the sense of obligation. They were systematized and culminated in the form of love, loyalty, and devotion. They were the foundation of martyrdom. The spirit of martyrdom has been expressed in the story of Simcheong, tale of Chunhyang, and innumerable other stories of loyal subjects, heroic soldiers, and faithful wives. Also we have countless stories of those who have given their lives for the cause of religious or political principles.

With the opening of Korea to the outside world, missionaries of various denominations began to rush into Korea. The result was the rapid development of Christianity.

In many respects it may have been a premature growth, with a crisis involved in the rapid development. As soon as Presbyterian missionaries began to preach systematically, they formed in 1893 the Missionary Council, in which the English language alone was used. It was the first administrative organization for the Protestant Church in Korea.

In 1901 the Council developed into the Joint Council, in which both English and Korean were adopted. Indeed, it

was a very rapid development, for only eight years after the establishment of the Church, Koreans began to take part in church administration, having direct responsibility for administering Church affairs with the formation of the Independent Presbyterian Council. In 1912 the Korean Church achieved virtual independence when the Independent Council developed into the Korean Presbyterian General Assembly.

Because of this rapid development, the Korean Churches failed to take proper steps. In its early days the Church operated through the Nevius method, in which the missionaries stimulated an independent and autonomous spirit among believers, making them economically independent and spiritually autonomous. This method had its merits. But, with rare exceptions, the majority of the early believers happened to be among the rather uneducated masses. A gap grew between the first generation of believers and their sons and grandsons who were more or less better educated in the Western style.

As the first Protestant missionary was a physician, it followed that the first missionary labor should be medical, and a Government Hospital was opened under the efficient leadership of Dr. Allen. He was later relieved by a Dr. Heron, who in turn brought about the building of another mission hospital in Pusan. Not only did these hospitals heal the patients, but also created a definite understanding of the ways and means of Christianity to the patients. In this way, Christianity was introduced to the poorer class of people as well as to the rich.

The favorable effects of medical work were enhanced by the educational labors of the missionaries. People were eager for the Western education. In fact, in 1896, the Korean Government had already taken the first timid steps toward the inauguration of a modern educational program.

The first mission school was the Ewha Girls' School, which was founded in June, 1885. At this school children were taught not only to be good Christians, but also how to sew and cook. This was the most prestigious school, and from then until 1926, in just about 40 years, the most amazing progress was made. Elementary schools numbered 766, with 37,767 pupils. There were 48 secondary schools, with an enrollment of 5,107, and many colleges such as Chosen Christian College, Union Christian College, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Methodist Theological Seminary, and Severance Medical School.

The Koreans, at first, were slow to appreciate the mission schools, but their attitude completely changed in the early 1900's, when they started crowding such schools wherever they could be found.

From 1934 the Japanese Government-General, in order to strengthen Japan's war efforts, forced all Koreans, including Christians, to worship Japanese gods at the Shinto shrines. Naturally Christians refused. The subsequent persecution of Korean Churches produced martyrs, 60 among the Protestants alone. As the invasion of China dragged on and Japan finally declared war on America and England, the Japanese condemned the liberalism represented by the two nations and found an outlet for their jealousy in the persecution of Christians, the representatives of Westernism. For this reason, when the Liberation came in 1945, it was a two-fold liberation for the Koreans.

With the liberation, Korean Churches developed and extended ever more rapidly as the reaction to the release of suppression. And the momentum is still accelerating the development of Korean Churches.

It is to be expected that Christianity in Korea will continue to exert influence upon the entire nation, and that churches will increase in number. From the start, Christianity in Korea has been serving democracy. Korean churches have been contributing to Korean culture and education, and have had an effect on the inner life of the Korean people. Because of all this, young as they are, Korean churches are mature, with considerable achievements behind them.

However, in order to fulfill its mission, Korean Christianity must enhance itself and place itself on an even higher level. In order to attain this end, it must exert sincere and honest efforts. It is a duty of the Korean Christian to contribute to the Christian Church of the whole world. Korean Churches still belong to the future in this sense.

There are many Orientals who are apt to think of Christianity as a Western religion. Nevertheless, it is, in fact, the religion of the world. There are several scholars in Korea who have been converted from other religions to Christianity. What Koreans need most to learn in this connection is how to combine the Oriental spirit so

uniquely expressed in the early Christian Church in the East with the Occidental form so highly developed in Western Christendom.

According to statistics released by the Culture and Public Information Ministry in February 1970, there were 15,702,036 Koreans affiliated with various religions, native or alien, as of July 1968, when the South Korean population reached the 30 million mark. This figure does not count those who observe Shaminist customs and Confucian rituals in their daily life, consciously or unconsciously, though they profess no religious belief.

Religions

	Churches and Temples	Numbers of Clergymen	Numbers of Followers
Total	16,480	48,403	15,702,036
Protestant	12,866	13,982	3,192,621
Roman Catholic	369	3,044	751,217
Buddhism	2,135	14,361	4,943,059
Confucianism	231	11,831	4,432,000
Chondo-gyo	119	977	636,067
Wonbul-gyo	131	1,059	619,219
Taejong-gyo	21	190	113,720
Others	608	2,959	1,023,133

Source: Ministry of Education

b. Education

Education is the assimilation of the culture of any society and its transmission to succeeding generations.

Education in this sense performs two functions. First, it inculcates or develops the attitude or habits of valuation that are necessary for the continuous and progressive life of society. Second, it passes from generation to generation certain skills, techniques, and bodies of accumulated knowledge.

In discussing the Korean education of today, it seems appropriate to have a brief review of the historical background of Korean education.

(1) Education in the Old Times

There have been two sources of influence that have molded the outlook on life and thus have shaped the tradition in Korea--i.e., Buddhism and Confucianism. The former teaches the achievement of spiritual life--inner serenity; and the latter, practical life--external propriety. These two thoughts were inculcated on the people throughout the history of Korea through the formal, as well as informal, educational system. Prior to the invention of Hangul (한글), the transmission of knowledge was carried out by the Chinese classics written in Chinese characters.

In reviewing Korean education, some of the educational highlights in the successive kingdoms will be mentioned.

It is not possible to determine when formal education began in Korea; but, according to the oldest available historical references, schools have been in existence for at least 1600 years. Authentic history records a "university" in 372 A.D. in the Koguryo Era.[1]

Koguryo Education--Introduction of Chinese Writing

There were two types of educational institutions during the Kingdom of Koguryo (37 B.C.-668 A.D.): a private establishment called "Kyongdang" (扃堂), and a state-operated institution called "Taehak" (太學). The Taehak was first established by royal command in 372 A.D. as a school

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[1] Pyong-do Lee, Kuksadaegwan (Outline of Korean History), Paekyong-sa, Seoul: 1958, pp. 92-93.

for youths of the upper class, whereas the Kyongdang was for students from common families. Each school taught Chinese classics, histories, literature, and military skills, such as archery. Both systems were copied from the Chinese and were significant in the importation of Chinese culture together with Chinese writing.

Silla Education--Hwarangdo

The five secular principles of loyalty, filial piety, trustworthy friendship, valor, and justice were the guidelines for the youths of the intelligentsia in the flourishing silla society.[2]

During the Unified Silla Dynasty, Kukhak (國學) was established for teaching Confucian classics. Professors, assistant professors, and teachers with lesser scholastic standing were nominated as officials for this school. Scholars who mastered the Five Classics, the Three Histories, and the Writings of the One Hundred Scholars were considered to have reached a superior standing and given a high post.[3] This method of selecting public servants gradually replaced the old custom of selecting high officials only from the aristocracy.

During the Silla Dynasty (57 B.C.-935 A.D.) there was an educational organization called Hwarangdo. Its members were sons of aristocrats of the Silla society and said to be handsome in appearance, virtuous in conduct, and to possess mental and physical acumen for intellectual and military training. The aims of the organization were to promote patriotic spirit, co-operative attitude, mastery of military skills, achievement of academic learning, and a sense of aesthetic value. It was, to a degree, comparable to the European knight or the Japanese samurai systems. The Hwarangs upheld the spirit of chivalry and trained themselves to acquire sound mind and body. The Hwarangs of superior quality were selected for positions in the Imperial Court and their services were noteworthy in national emergencies as well as in peacetime.

Idu, the system by which the Korean vernacular was written in Chinese characters, was invented in 681 A.D. by the scholar Solch'ong (薛 聰).[4] This system was

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[2]Pyong-do Lee, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Namson Choe, Kosatong, p. 269.

as imperfect and difficult as the Chinese writing and disappeared gradually after the 15th century when Hangul was invented.

Koryo Education--The Kwago

In the beginning of the Koryo Dynasty (918 A.D.-1392 A.D.), Buddhism exerted as strong an educational influence as Confucianism, but lost much of its strength during the middle period of the dynasty. During the dynasty, the public educational system expanded; the public service examination system was firmly established; and private schools flourished.

Kukjagam (國子監), the state university located in the capital, had three major departments: Kukjahak (國子學), Taehak (大學), and Samunhak (四門學)--each accomodating 300 students. Students were enrolled at different departments depending on the rank of their parents in the government service. Law, geography, astronomy, and mathematics were taught.

Hyanghak (鄕學), the state-operated institutes in various provinces, taught Confucian classics to the children from families of lower-ranking officials or private citizens in much the same way as the schools in the capital, but on a smaller scale. In the capital there were also a large number of private schools called Sahak, which were founded by Confucian scholars. These schools produced a large number of graduates who passed the state examination to become scholar-administrators.

The Kwago is the public service examination which was formally inaugurated by Kwangjong, the fourth king, in 958. The system spurred the study of Confucian classics and the development of private schools for teaching the classics. Examinations during this period tended to stress Chinese prosody and literature.

(2) Education During the Yi Dynasty

Institutes

During the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), a royal decree made Confucianism the state religion. As a result, the Confucian tradition exerted an even greater influence upon thought and education. Consequently, Confucian scholars received royal favors and emphasized ideological and metaphysical studies,

and their academic achievements were largely unrelated to the needs of the nation.

The latter half of the dynasty saw the emergence of a group of scholars with a greater interest in the practical sciences than in ideologies. The Seodang (書堂) was freely established by various groups of private citizens for the education of the young, sometimes in preparation for higher learning at the Sahak (四學) or at the Hyanggyo (鄕校). The highest state institute was called Songgunkwan (成均館).

In 1543, a new type of educational institute came into being, called Seowon (書院).[5] With private contributions and royal grants, the Seowon grew quickly in number. Since prominent scholars were invited to teach Confucian classics, the Seowon assumed the role of a center for academic gatherings and debates.

Invention of Hangul

King Sejong, the fourth monarch of the Yi Dynasty, was keenly aware that Chinese writing was too difficult for ordinary citizens to learn without intensive training in Chinese classics. He also realized that his people had their own folklore, poems, and songs--most of which would fade into oblivion for lack of a recording system. In 1443, King Sejong, working with his scholars, invented the Korean alphabet and called it Hangul. The system originally consisted of eleven vowels and sixteen consonants, but today only ten vowels and fourteen consonants are in use. It is regarded as one of the most rational phonetic systems in the world.

Hangul was promulgated on October 9, 1446, three years after its invention--not without some opposition from obstinate officials--and thus saved Korea from the darkness of widespread illiteracy. The invention of this alphabet immensely widened the literary horizon in the 15th century and produced many outstanding books with the new spelling system. Hangul not only made the enlightenment of the people possible, but also paved the way for a democratic approach to education by bringing literacy within the grasp of all levels of society.

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[5] Pyong-do Lee, op. cit., pp. 340-342.

Western Influence--Modern Education

Toward the end of the 19th century, due to the increasing pressure of foreign powers, the "Hermit Kingdom" opened its long-closed doors to the outside world. Since 1872, Western civilization, religion, and education have been freely transplanted and developed in Korea through foreign missionaries.

In 1882, a royal decree opened the gates of the state-operated schools to the common citizens. Until then, the schools admitted only those who belonged to the upper class, known as Yangban. In 1885, American Protestant missionary groups began founding modern high schools in Seoul, including the first school for girls in the history of the country. Paeje Hakdang, founded in 1885, was the first Western-style school for boys in Korea; Ewha Hakdang, founded in 1887, was the first Western-style school for girls in Korea.

After 1895, as a result of internal social changes, the government discarded both the traditional system of education, which emphasized Chinese classics, and the Kwago system of civil service examinations.

(3) Education Under Japanese Rule

After the Russo-Japanese War, (1905) Japan gradually deprived the Yi Dynasty of its administrative functions and finally forced the powerless Korean king and his cabinet members to sign the Treaty of Annexation in 1910. Upon annexing Korea, Japan immediately enforced a new law governing Korean education in order to reorganize its system and objectives according to Japanese colonial policy. Japanese authorities attempted to utilize education as a means of inducing loyalty among the people to the Japanese Emperor. It was obvious that the colonial education policies intended to weaken the Korean spirit of independence. The Japanese language and history were taught at the expense of the Korean language and history. The ulterior motive was to pave the way for submission to the Japanese rule by limiting individual economic opportunities for Koreans. Educational discrimination was strictly observed against Korean students and as a result they could only receive a low grade of education compared to that of the Japanese students.

System and Curriculum

The general pattern of the school system during this period was six years of elementary school, five (or four) years of secondary school, and three years of higher education in a vocational college course. For a select group--those who were politically influential and evidenced loyalty to Japan--the school pattern was six years of elementary school, five years of secondary school, and three years of prep school followed by three years of university courses.

There was no compulsory education system in Korea. School facilities were provided at a minimum; therefore, students who desired to be admitted to schools experienced tremendous anxiety in facing competitive entrance examinations. It was not uncommon to witness many six-year-old children crying and sobbing on the school grounds after finding that they had failed the entrance examination. As a result of this competition, only a little over 57 percent of Korean school-age children attended elementary schools where usually 80 or more children were accommodated in each classroom. The higher the level of institution, the more keen was the competition which the students had to face. Due to high tuition and other expenses, many gifted young men and women without considerable wealth could not be admitted, even if academically superior to those who were granted admission.

From the outset of the colonization a close watch was kept on the curriculum. While the three R's were taught along with other subjects, such as social studies, science, and arts, the Korean language was taught only nominally and in 1941 was forbidden in all schools. Korean history was never taught in elementary schools and very little on the secondary level. The colonial policy emphasized elementary and vocational education. With few exceptions, training in higher technological knowledge and skills was not open to Koreans. All school activities were conducted in Japanese and the use of Japanese was enforced in and out of school with a checking system.

(4) Education after 1945

Democratic ideals were among the many new systems of values introduced to Korea with the national liberation in 1945. Democratic constitutional government was established following popular elections. Education also adopted democratic principles, at least with respect to system.

The New Educational Philosophy

The goal of Confucian education was to develop a small, learned class from which the wise men and rulers of the country would be provided. The goal of mission school education was to spread literacy to the common people to facilitate reading of the Bible. The basic aim of Japanese education was to promote knowledge of and respect for the Japanese and to increase Korean technical skills and competence in such basic subjects as reading and arithmetic in order to make Koreans useful citizens of the industrializing society of Japan. Finally, the goals were changed to democratic education, the fundamental principles and policies of which provided educational autonomy and compulsory education. The aims of education were stated as follows:

1. The integration of the character of the individual.
2. The preparation of the individual to live as a citizen of an independent country.
3. To serve in the development of a democratic nation.
4. To contribute to the ideal of mutual service--as a part of Hong'ik, the concept of the greatest service for the benefit of humanity.

Thus, for the first time in the history of the country, Korea could offer an equal opportunity educational system for all, men or women, poor or rich.

Adoption of the New Educational System

In the early 1960's South Korea had a combined system of state and private schools which were supervised by the Ministry of Education. State institutions were of two types, i.e., national and public; the former being primarily supported by the central government and the latter, by city, county, or provincial administrations. Most of the institutions receiving support from the national government were schools of higher education.

The regular school system consists of a six-year primary school for children 6 through 11 years old, a three-year middle school for the 12-to-14-year-olds, and a three-year high school for the 15-to-18-year-olds. The middle and high schools are divided into liberal arts schools and vocational schools. Above the high schools are the junior and four-year colleges, universities, and graduate schools. In addition, technical training is given in special schools and

provision is made for adult education in so-called civic schools. Teachers are trained in teachers' colleges and universities.

Elementary education. The constitutional guarantee of elementary education for all citizens was provided by the nation's basic law in 1948, which reads: "Elementary education shall be compulsory and free of charge."[6] The Education Law, enacted subsequently, stipulates: "Every person is entitled to receive a six-year elementary school education. The appropriate national and local government bodies shall establish and maintain the number of schools necessary to provide elementary education for all."[7]

During the years following the Korean War, an ambitious six-year program designed to implement this law was carried out with the result that the number of children receiving primary education has greatly increased. According to official figures, a little over 70 percent of the children of the 6-to-11-year age group were attending primary schools in 1952. By 1962 the figure had risen to 95 percent.[8]

Provision for compulsory primary education was reflected by increased enrollment of female pupils in the elementary schools. For example, in 1955, girls constituted only 29 percent of the total primary school enrollment, whereas, in 1962, they represented nearly 50 percent. Also at the primary level a coeducational system is in practice.

Secondary education in Korea covers the six years beyond the six-year elementary school. The secondary schools are separated into two units, three years of middle school and three years of high school. They are ordinarily administered as separate institutions, though there are many middle and high schools which are administered by one principal on the same campus. Secondary education is not coeducational except in some rural districts and in experimental schools attached to teachers colleges.

The percentage of school-age children in attendance tends to drop rapidly beyond the elementary school level. According to official figures[9] in 1963, only 44 percent of

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[6]The Korean Information Service, Inc., Facts About Korea.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 139.

[9]Ibid., p. 139.

the children graduating from primary school entered middle school and only 29 percent entered high school, partly because of the persisting shortage of physical facilities and the prohibitively high fees and other costs of education. Prior to the new system, students of all ages were under tremendous pressure, along with a heavy financial burden, due to the "narrow gate" to learning. The situation in this aspect has not yet been alleviated and students are admitted to these schools only upon the successful completion of an exacting competitive examination.

Nearly all secondary school students are required to wear school uniforms, as they do in some parochial schools in the United States. They must also wear their hair in accordance with school regulations.

Higher Education. At the time of the Liberation there were nineteen technical colleges and only one university in the entire country. In 1946, under the United States Military Government (1945-1948), Seoul National University merged with nine other state-ruled colleges. They formed a progressive and amalgamated university. Also, private colleges became four-year universities or colleges and many new two-or four-year liberal arts colleges were established. The multiplicity of junior colleges and four-year liberal colleges reflected the rapid growth of such institutions during the Korean War when college students were exempted from the draft. It may have been a reflection of Koreans' eagerness for higher education. But the standards of many of these so-called "mushroom colleges" were uniformly low, and in 1961, twelve disqualified institutions of higher learning were abolished.[10]

There are now three government-operated four-year colleges which train teachers: one in Seoul, the others in Taegu and Konju. In addition, the private Ehwa University has a four-year Teachers' College. There are two government operated and one private two-year teacher-training colleges. There are also eighteen teacher-training high schools. At the present time, the number of students enrolled in all teacher-training colleges, government and private, stands at 7,057.[11]

In addition to the above institutions, there are three military academies, Army, Navy-Marine, and Air Force; a

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[10]The Korea Information Service, Inc. op. cit., p. 143.

[11]Hakwon-Sa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages, p. 381.

National Defense College; a General Staff College; and a Merchant Marine Academy. There are also a number of theological seminaries administered under the direct auspices of various religious groups and the Foreign Language Institute which provided three months intensive training in English, German, and French to Korean students preparing for study abroad.

The degrees conferred on graduates of colleges and graduate schools include bachelor's and master's degrees in literature, theology, fine arts, music, law, political science, economics, commerce, science, engineering, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, agriculture, veterinary science, and maritime sciences. There are doctoral degrees in literature, philosophy, theology, economics, law, medicine, science, pharmacy, agriculture, engineering, and veterinary science.[12]

Curricula and Textbooks

The new curricula prepared after the liberation in 1945 stressed Korean history, written Korean, and civic morals, in line with a policy to emphasize democracy and nationalism in education. The curricula and time allotment reflected efforts to wipe Japanese ways and manners from the students' life and education. A drive to abolish the use of Chinese characters through the exclusive use of the Korean alphabet was an example of the nationalistic policies of this period.

Modern Curriculum. This includes, for the primary grades, six years of the Korean language, social studies, arithmetic, health, and art, and two years of natural and domestic science.

In the middle schools mathematics and science represent between 15 and 25 percent of the allocated time. The study of the language, grammar, and composition of Sino-Korean written language together with music, fine arts, foreign languages (usually English), and social studies comprise 40 to 60 percent. "Practical arts," physical education, and hygiene comprise the remainder.

The liberal arts high schools offer much the same subjects as the middle schools, except for the addition of psychology and certain vocational electives. The technical high

[12] Doctoral degrees are conferred only with the approval of the Ministry of Education.

schools give some the basic high school subjects along with engineering, depending on the type of school.[13]

The academic colleges seem to offer most of the subjects found in many liberal arts colleges in the United States. English is usually a required subject. Many colleges include science courses, but the great scarcity of laboratory facilities severely limits this type of training. In addition, there are technical colleges for agriculture, engineering, fishery, law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacology.

In general, religious instruction is not permitted in the schools, but the teaching of the Bible is allowed in those run by Protestant sects. In Catholic schools religious teaching is conducted after school hours.

National textbooks. In 1963 there were thirty-four kinds of these books and twenty kinds of ministry-approved textbooks in circulation. Thirty-six kinds of teachers' manuals were also prepared for elementary and middle school staffs. Fourteen more textbooks and twenty-eight manuals were to be published shortly.[14]

The school principal has the right to choose textbooks, but he must give priority in his selection to national textbooks published by the Ministry of Education. If national textbooks are not available for a certain subject, he may select from Ministry-approved textbooks. If neither is available, he may choose from auxiliary textbooks sanctioned by the Ministry. As a rule, elementary schools use only national textbooks while middle and high schools use Ministry-approved or other textbooks.

In 1954, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO) made available $235,000 for importing modern printing equipment for the textbook-printing plant. During the war, the Free Asian Foundation and UNKRA donated large quantities of printing paper for textbook publication, but this supply stopped soon after the armistice. Since then, American aid dollars have been purchased by textbook publishers to import foreign paper.

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[13]The division of secondary education into liberal arts schools and technical schools is considered by many to be unsatisfactory and undemocratic. There is a strong demand for a system of comprehensive high schools.

[14]Hakwon-sa, op. cit., pp. 386-387.

Adult Education. Civic schools for adults were established in 1952 primarily to increase the literacy rate. In 1962 there were 561 civic schools offering primary level instructions with an attendance of over 42,000 and 292 civic high schools with an attendance of 51,000. Adult illiteracy is also being attacked by the Adult Education Association and by college students during their summer vacations. Adult illiteracy is said to have been reduced from 78 percent in 1945 to 15 percent or less in 1964.

Study Abroad. In early 1961 the government reported that 7,167 Koreans were studying abroad. Of these, 4,125 were in the United States, and 2,578 in Japan. England, France, Italy, Belgium, Austria, Western Germany, and other European countries and Canada were also represented.

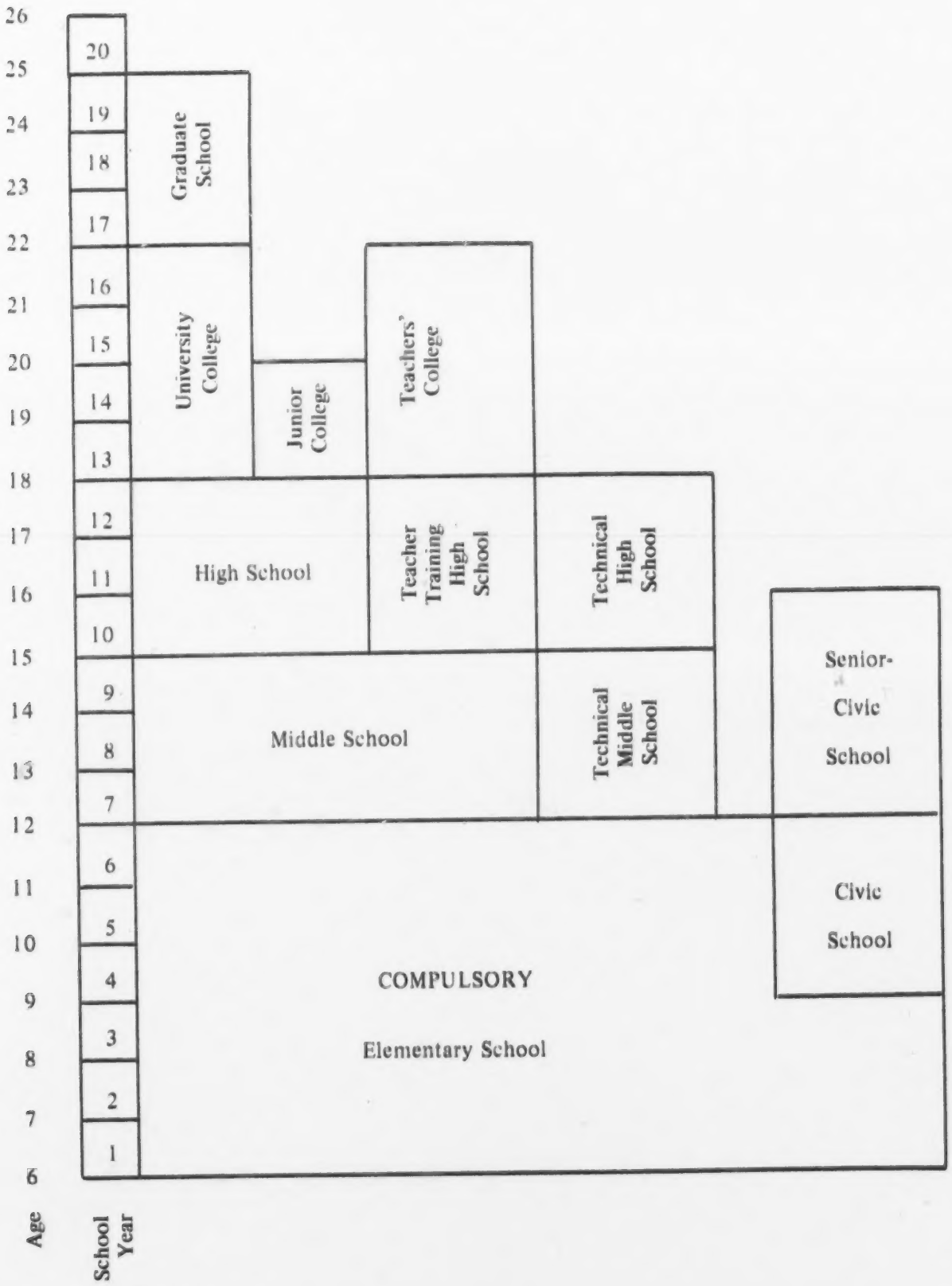
(5) The Future

Korean education is now confronted with important assignments for further growth in the future. The present state of education, despite earnest endeavors, does not appear to be in harmony with the actual conditions and requirements of the Korean people. Because of traditional social values which emphasize the importance of political positions, many students continue to favor humanities (political science, etc.) over technical studies. This tendency handicaps the government in its efforts to modernize and develop the economy. This problem is aggravated by the fact that those students who do pursue technical studies often find that job opportunities are scarce.

The educational system lacks flexibility. Coordination of effort in education is always necessary, but the high degree of central control over the Korean school system causes a rigid policy which does not permit a timely adjustment to varying situations or acceptance of needed innovations. These needs must be met. The quality of instruction must keep pace with the increase in attendance. The classroom shortage must be overcome. More school funds must be raised. Teaching aids and other equipment must be supplied in more abundance. The size of the average class should be reduced. Free distribution of textbooks must be made possible. Libraries and science laboratories must be provided.

As these challenges in education are met, Korea will be better prepared to meet the needs of the future.

SCHOOL SYSTEM



c. The Kinship System

Korean families with a common ancestry speak of themselves as "ilga", meaning one house. An ancestor who lived in the Silla Dynasty may, after 30 or 40 generations, have left behind a family of thousands of descendants. Thus a clan, such as the Andong Kims of Pearl S. Buck's "The Living Reed," is formed.[1] Koreans introduce themselves first telling their full names and then usually give the original birth place of their ancestor.

(1) Names

There are about 300 different Korean family names, the most numerous being Kim, Yi, Pak, Choi, Chung, and An. (六姓) All Koreans bearing the same surname would, it seems, recognize a common family origin. However, only a few family groups, such as Han and Yu, do have the same family origin. In the case of most family groups, geneological sources are traced to scores of completely unrelated clans. There are, for example, eighty different Kim Clans, such as the Andong Kims, the Kimhae Kims, and the Kwangsan Kims. In all of Korea, there are about two hundred and ninety-eight surnames and eleven hundred clans. Thus two individuals who happen to be named Kim are probably no more related than a couple of American Smiths or Browns.

Personal names are considered to decide the destiny of their holders, so Korean parents give names of good fortune, to their sons, such as Soo Nam - man of long life, Soo Kil - long life and good fortune. For daughters, characters that signify nobleness, beauty, virtue, obedience, courteousness, brightness, etc. are given as personal names, such as Soon Hi - obedient lady, Ok Hi - pretty as jade, and In Sook - charity and virtue. In most cases, a personal name consists of two characters, of which, one character is derived from five natural elements such as earth, metals, water, wood, and fire. Thus if the father's name is derived from earth (to), the sons and daughters' names are derived from gold or metal (kŭm), the grandchildren's names are water (soo), and the great-grand-children's names are tree or wood (mok). Some families follow the sexagenary cycle of heaven and earth, so if the father's name came in the cycle of the tiger, the second generation bears the character indicating hare, the third, fourth and the fifth generations would have the characters indicating dragon, serpent, mare, and so on.

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[1] John Day Company, New York, 1963, p. 21.

Family Tree

Every family keeps a systematic family register, recording the history of its ancestors, generation by generation. This document includes records of births, marriages, and deaths. It also documents any official positions and ranks. It is maintained in the house of the eldest son, and all relatives pay great respect to this house. In order to preserve the family tree and its dignity, well-to-do families maintain endowments in the form of farm lands, and not even the head of the family can freely dispose of such lands without the approval of the whole family council.[2]

(2) The Marriage System

Traditional Wedding

The old-fashioned type marriage is arranged by the parents and 'go-betweens' - women who make it their business to know all the marriageable young men and women of an area - with little or no regard for the wishes of the two people most concerned. When the match is agreed upon, the young man's family sends to the bride-elect's family a note called 'saju' (four pillars) written by the groom-to-be listing only his birth date by year, month, day and hour. This is regarded as an official notice of engagement. The bride-elect's family then replies by sending a note listing a lucky date for the wedding and confirms the engagement. The groom's family then sends to the bride's family rolls of red and blue silk called 'pongchi' on the eve of the wedding. Once these presents are accepted, neither party can break off the engagement, and, in the event of the death of either, the other is under obligation to observe mourning and the bride-elect is treated as a widow.

The wedding takes place at the bride's home. The groom, in traditional court dress, rides on horseback, or in a palanquin, to the bride's home taking a wild goose[3] with him. The bride, dressed in fine, colorful garments and wearing a jeweled coronet, stands motionless, assisted by two attendents called 'soomo'. The bride's face is painted with white powder, her cheeks and forehead are dotted with rouge, and her eyes are sealed with honey so she can not see. Before the altar, loaded with fruits and other delicacies, the groom stands at the east, facing his bride, bows

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[2]Composed of senior male members of the family and they make decisions for the family.

[3]Wild goose is known for fidelity in Korea.

to the goose indicating he will be as faithful to his bride as the wild goose to his life-long mate. And then the bride bows to the groom twice, and the groom returns the bow once. The cups of ceremonial wine is handed to each, and the bride passes her cup to the groom under the table, and the groom passes his cup to the bride, over the table, and sips the wine. This is the high-light of the ceremony, then the bride bows again twice to the groom who returns one bow. With this the wedding ceremony is completed. The bride, throughout the wedding, neither smiles nor speaks. If she smiles, all her children will be girls. The nuptial vows are over, but now the groom takes his bride to his home for another ceremony called 'pibak' which is the official meeting of her in-laws and acceptance of the bride as a member of their family. Upon arrival, she bows to her parents-in-law and serves them wine, cakes, chestnuts, jujubes, and other sweets which she has brought with her, and then returns to her home. In the evening the groom returns to the bride's home and spends three days there. The fourth day the young couple leaves for their home which is actually his parent's home where their joint home life starts.

Modern-Style Wedding

The old traditional custom now seems strange to most cosmopolitan city dwellers. The trend now is towards a great choice in the selection of a lifetime mate. Many young girls now seek employment with various organizations and have plenty of opportunity to meet young men and fall romantically in love in defiance of the Confucian ethical code that "A man and a woman should not be seated together when they reach the age of seven." Thus the modern young generations usually chose spouses with or without the consent of their parents. The modern wedding usually takes place at churches or in public halls; the bridegroom in a tuxedo or dark suit and the bride in white with veil, carrying a bouquet of lily-of-the-valley or roses. After the wedding vows are exchanged, the couple marches down the aisle, arm-in-arm, to "The Wedding March". They enjoy their wedding reception and take off for a honeymoon.

Taboos

The clans have functioned importantly in Korean social history. Koreans have traditionally been strictly exogamous, and would consider it incestuous for a Kimhae Kim girl to marry a Kimhae Kim man. The clans have shared deep feelings

of fraternal ties, and most of the clans have maintained clan societies and the patrimonial clan books complete with the family trees. The feelings of the family clan is so strong that women do not change their family names even after marriage. The daughter of Yi family married into a Kim family is still Yi, not Kim.

In-laws

If a girl marries the eldest son of the family, she will live in her in-law's house where a large part of her duties will be to serve her in-laws. If it is a large family, as most families are, she has to serve her grandparents-in-law and keep all sisters and brothers-in-law happy.

The girl's mother, once her daughter is married, has no voice over her daughter's family affairs except that she has to keep a list of the birth dates of senior members of her son-in-law's family, so that she can prepare for the special occasions and deliver huge loads of rice cakes, fruits and other sweets to her daughter's new home. In case a girl is married into a large family, her mother keeps a rather busy schedule remembering all of her in-laws' ceremonial occasions. If a mother has four or five married daughters, she repeats this kind of preparation every month, and she is as busy as a mother in this country trying to keep up with clubs and P.T.A. meetings.

Inter-relationship of the families

Korean people are governed strongly by the Confucian ethical system. "If parents and elders, by adhering to a prescribed ritual and code of conduct, set the proper example for children to follow, then the children would respect and obey them. The family would be harmonious and its members would prosper."[4] Confucious taught that society was made up of five relations;[5] those between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and between friends. The relationships between the senior and junior members of a family were patterned after the relationships between the rulers and the ruled. The chief virtue, among the five relationships, was filial piety, combination of loyalty and reverence, which demands that a son show respect to his father and obey the parents, whose words are law in the home.

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[4] Time Inc., China, New York, 1963, p. 79

[5] 父子有親 君臣有義 夫婦有別 長幼有序 朋友有信

The eldest male member of a family hierarchy is the head of the family and his authority is unquestioned. Boys and girls learn from childhood to obey the parents and their first duty is to the welfare of the family. They are taught to have pride in their position and show respect for elders and to conduct themselves so that no disgrace will befall their families.

(3) Status of the Individual

In regard to the status of an individual, a Korean father is the head of his family and his word is an iron clad law in the family as mentioned previously. He also carries a heavy burden of responsibilities. He sees to it that all members of his household are properly taken care of and conduct themselves worthy of the family name. If any member of a family misbehaves, it is the father who loses 'face'. A son's misconduct may lead to the resignation of his father if his position is in the field of education. He may no longer think that he is able to guide young people since he failed with his own son. The head of a family must also perform all family rituals including ancestral worship services, and train his heir to succeed him.

Older people, especially grandparents, are held in special honor. When they reach the age of 60 - 61 what is the Korean way of counting one's chronological age - they are considered to have successfully completed the first cycle of their life and are entering the second cycle. Often they leave their responsibilities to the next person in line and devote themselves to advising young people and the leisurely pursuit of retirement. Even after their retirement, they are not ignored by the young heir in making decisions on various family affairs. Their wisdom is still respected.

Sons and daughters must attend their parents and grandparents as they go to bed at night and when they rise in the morning. At meals children do not eat ahead of elders, but stand still at one side until the father has finished. A son is forbidden to smoke or drink in the presence of his parents. Smoking and drinking for girls are considered vulgar practice in Korea. For travel or accepting a new job, they must get the permission of their father. If they go out, they must tell their parents and report when they come home. When the father or mother is sick, the sons and daughters remain at the bedside caring for them day and night.

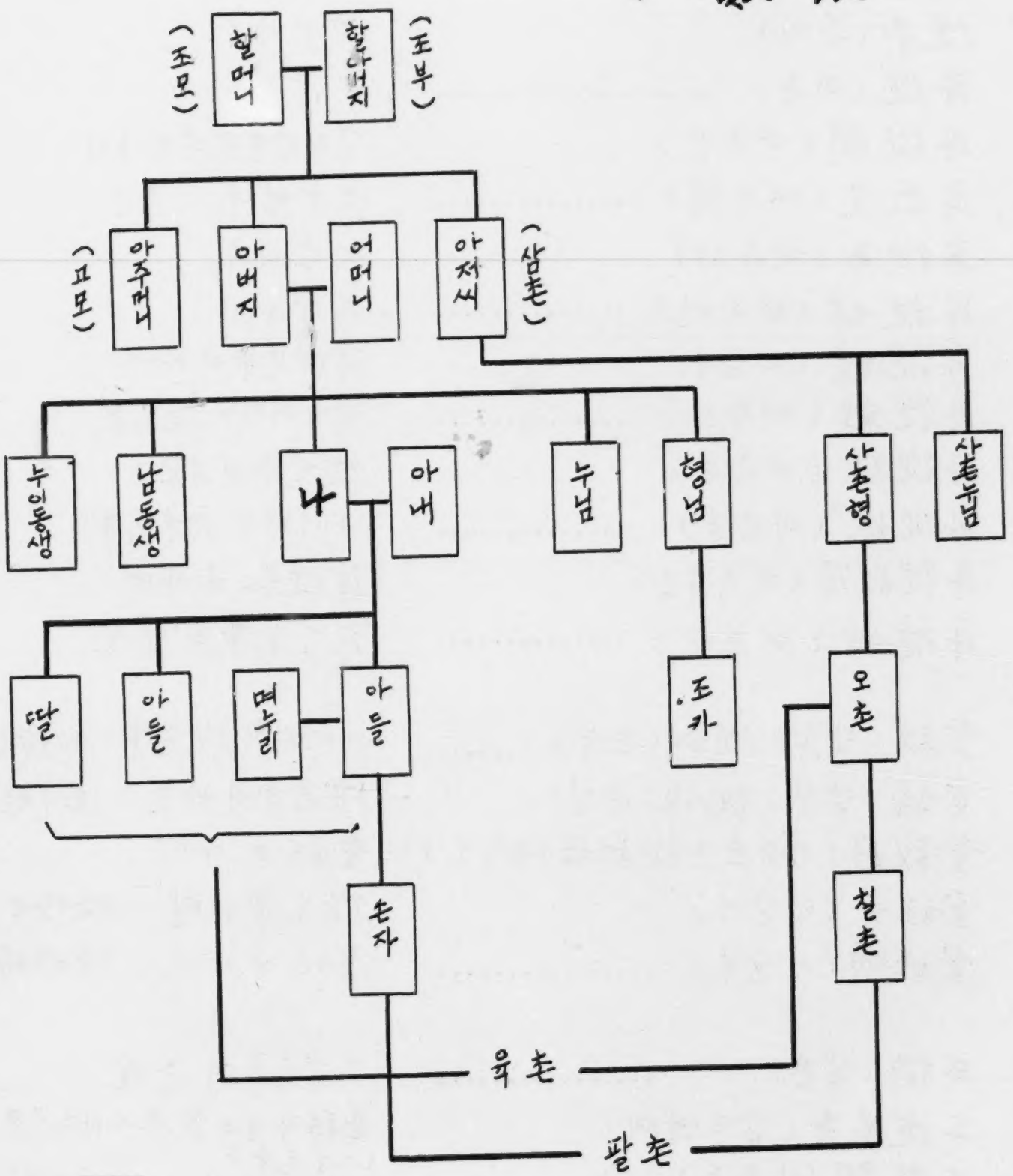
The daughter-in-law's role is mainly that of mother and housekeeper. Her day is fully occupied with various kinds of household chores. She has to cook three meals a day, wash, starch, iron, and sew clothes. Therefore she has little time to leave her home. She almost never makes a trip together with her husband and if her husband should leave home, she has to remain at home to serve his parents. She has to serve her in-laws with deepest humility.

(4) Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, based on Confucious principles, is held as the first duty of the Koreans. 'Sadang', the ancestral hall, is maintained in the home of the eldest son. There are tablets called 'shinju' made of 10" by 3" polished chestnut wood which record the ranks and virtues of four generations of ancestors. Memorial services, with offerings of food and wine, are conducted frequently at 'sadang' and for those of more remote generations at the family burial ground. Many Koreans have their own family burial plots (selected through faithful adherence to the principles of geomency) and the plots are carefully maintained by the descendants. Visiting the graves of one's parents only once or twice during the Lunar Year, for instance on New Year's Day, and on Thanksgiving Day (choosuk) in the fall, is a considerable departure from the ethical requirements of the past, when hardly a month went by without a rite of ancestor-worship of one kind or another.

The younger generation, however, is quite obviously drawing away from the traditionally strong attachment to the family clan. And the patriarchal members, who still feel it very keenly, sadly shake their heads and say: "Its not like the good old days."
時代가變했고나!

寸 數 表


할머니
(조모)
할아버지
(조부)
아주머니
(고모)
아버지
어머니
아저씨
(삼촌)
누이동생
남동생
나
아내
누님
형님
삼촌형
삼촌누님
딸
아들
며느리
아들
조카
오촌
손자
칠촌
육촌
팔촌

항 렬

從兄(종형)	四寸兄
從弟(종제)	四寸아우
再從(재종)	六寸
再從間(재종간)	같은항열六寸의사이
再從兄(재종형)	六寸언니
再從弟(재종제)	六寸아우
再從妹(재종매)	六寸누이
再從嫂(재종수)	再從兄弟의 아내
再從祖(재종조)	할아버지의 從兄弟
再從孫(재종손)	從兄弟의 子孫子
再從叔(재종숙)	아버지의 六寸兄弟
再從叔母(재종숙모)	再從叔의 아내
再從姪(재종질)	六寸兄弟의 아들

堂叔(당숙) 從叔(종숙)	아버지의 從兄弟 五寸叔
堂姪(당질) 從姪(종질)	從兄弟의 아들 五寸姪
堂叔母(당숙모) 從叔母(종숙모)	堂叔의 아내
堂姪女(당질여)	從兄弟의 딸 從姪女
堂姪婦(당질부)	堂姪의 아내 從姪婦

三從(삼종)	三寸兄弟의 준말
三從兄弟(삼종형제)	高祖가같고曾祖가다른兄弟(八寸兄弟)
三從祖(삼종조)	할아버지의 六寸兄弟
三從兄(삼종형)	八寸兄
三從弟(삼종제)	八寸동생

三從叔(삼종숙) ..... 九寸아저씨. 아버지의八寸兄弟
三從祖(삼종조) 할아버지의 大寸兄弟
三從姪(삼종질) ..... 九寸조카, 八寸兄弟의 아들
三從嫂(삼종수) 八寸兄弟의 아내

內從(내종) ..... 內從四寸의 준말
內從四寸(내종사촌) 아버지의 누이의 아들이나 딸
內從兄(내종형) ..... 內從四寸兄
內從弟(내종제) 內從四寸 아우

外從(외종) ..... 外從四寸의 준말
外從四寸(외종사촌) 어머니의 男兄弟의 아들이나 딸

姑從(고종) ..... 內從四寸. 姑從
姑從四寸(고종사촌)

外叔(외숙) ..... 外三寸
外叔母(외숙모) 外三寸 댁
外甥(외생) ..... 편지글때 사위가 丈人에게 자기를 일컫는 말

高祖(고조) ..... 高祖父의 준말
高祖父(고조부) 할아버지의 아버지
高祖母(고조모) ..... 高祖父의 夫人
高祖考(고조고) 돌아가신 高祖父
高祖妣(고조비) ..... 돌아가신 高祖母

曾祖(증조) ..... 曾祖父의 준말

曾祖父(증조부) ..... 아버지의 할아버지
曾祖母(증조모) 아버지의 할머니
曾祖考(증조고) ..... 돌아가신 曾祖父
曾祖妣(증조비) 돌아가신 曾祖母

媳姑母(시고모) ..... 男便의 姑母
媳姑母夫(시고모부) 媳姑母의 男便
媳 누이 ..... 男便의 누이
媳 同生 男便의 아우 시아주비
媳 아주버니 ..... 男便의 兄

妻三寸(처삼촌) ..... 아내의 큰아버지나 작은아버지
妻外家(처외가) 아내의 어머니의 친정
妻弟(처제) ..... 아내의 동생
妻男(처남) 아내의 男동생
妻兄(처형) ..... 아내의 언니
妻祖父(처조부) 아내의 할아버지
妻祖母(처조모) ..... 妻祖父의 夫人
妻 조카 아내의 본집조카. 妻姪

兄夫(형부) ..... 女子가 언니의 男便을 알함
妹夫(매부) 男子가 女동생의 男便을 알함

올케 ..... 오라비의 아내

王姑母(왕고모) ..... 할아버지의 누이
王姑丈(왕고장) 남의 돌아가신 할아버지를 일컫는 말

家親(가친) ..... 남에게 자기아버지를 일컫는말
先考(선고) 돌아가신 아버지. 先君
先考丈(선고장) ..... 남의 돌아기신 아버지
春(椿)府丈(춘부장) 남의 아버지를 높이서 하는말
先親(선친) ..... 남에게자기의 돌아가신아버지를말함
家母(가모) 남에게 자기의 어버니를일컫는말
慈堂(자당) ..... 상대자의 어버니를높이어일컫는말
先妣(선비) 돌아가신 어버니
家兒(가아) ..... 남에게 자기의아들을일컫는말

壻郎(서랑) ..... 남의사위를대접하여 일컫는말
岳父(악부) 丈人을 높이어 일컫는말
聘母(빙모) ..... 丈母
令妹(영매) 남의누이의 경칭
令息(영식) ..... 남의 아들의 경칭
令孫(영손) 남의孫子의 경칭
令夫人(영부인) ..... 남의 夫人의 경칭
令愛(영애) 남의 딸의 존칭
令姉(영자) ..... 남의 손위누이의 존칭
令兄(영형) 편지글에 친구를 높이어 일컫는말
令弟(영제) ..... 남의 아우를 높이어 일컫는말
夫君(부군) 남편을 높이어 일컫는말
家長(가장) ..... 남편을 높이어 일컫는말
郎君(낭군) 젊은아내가 男便을일컫는愛稱

室人(실인) ..... 자기의 아내를 일컫는말

伯氏 (백씨) ..... 남의 큰형님을 일컫는 말
仲氏 (중씨) 남의 둘째 형님을 일컫는 말
季氏 (계씨) ..... 남의 아우를 일컫는 말
咸氏 (함씨) 남의 조카를 일컫는 말

甥姪 (생질) ..... 누이의 아들
甥姪女 (생질녀) 누이의 딸
姨姪 (이질) ..... 아내의 언니나 아우의 아이들

민재호씨의 "항렬"에서

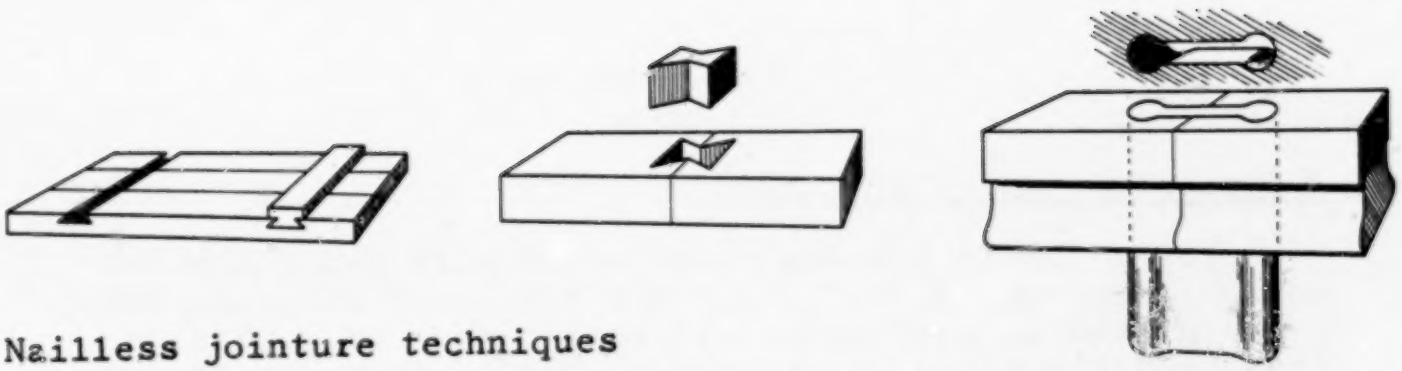
d. The Korean House

A Typical Building Structure

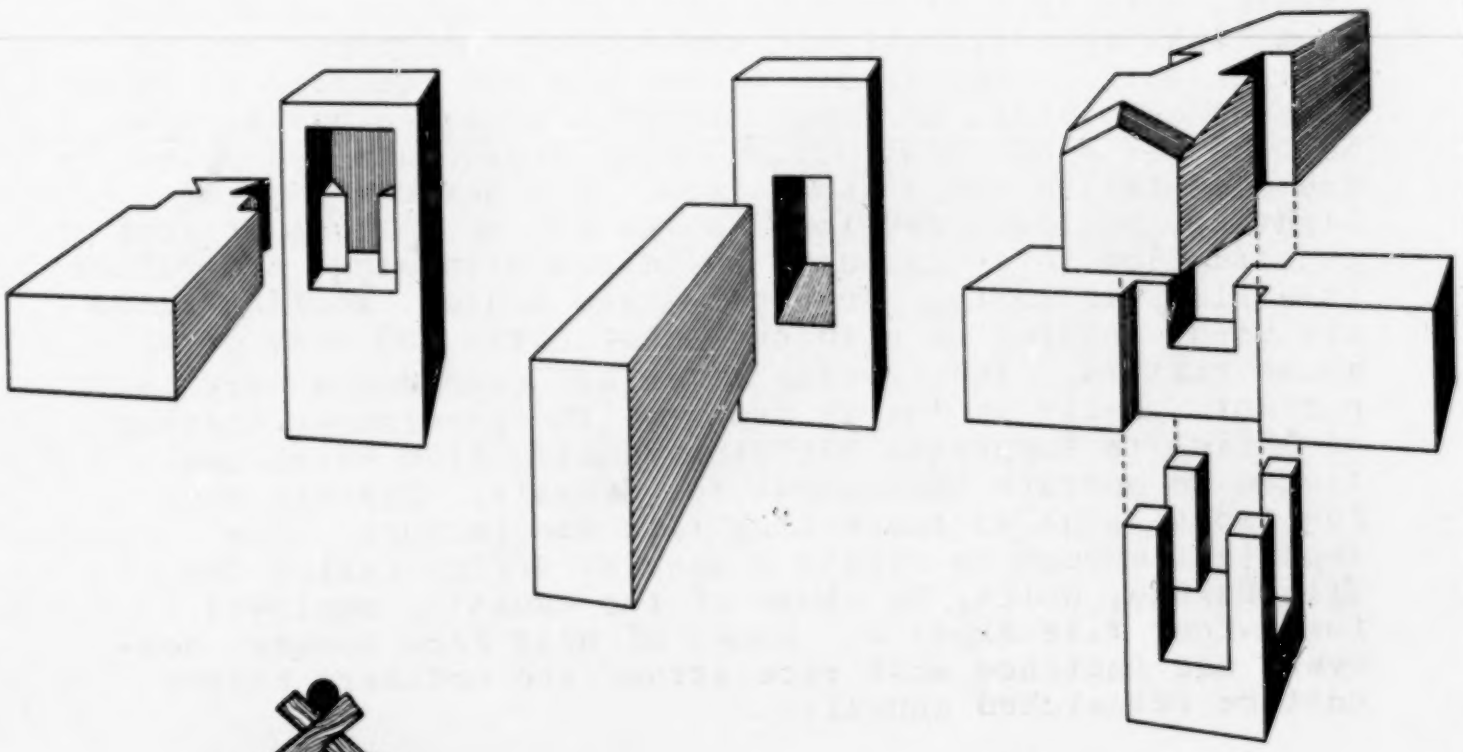
Korean buildings are constructed with heavy squared wooden posts set on cornerstones; the posts are lacquered or varnished so that they will remain in good condition, free from unnoticed deterioration due to termites or rot. These posts support large wood beams, over which round rafters form the ceilings of the rooms. In construction itself, many ancient methods are still used to accomplish such tasks as nailless jointure both in buildings and in cabinet work. Complicated techniques are required in interlocking of pillars and roof brackets in large halls. The methods for roof construction using crossbeams and poles are time-tested and standardized. For maximum natural lighting, builders developed a variety of methods of roof construction to accommodate buildings with wings and gables (see illustrations). In upper-class houses, roofing tiles are used, resting on a thick bed of earth and clay over these rafters. The roofing tiles are considered very important. Early in the Yi Dynasty, the government created an office to supervise building construction which continued to operate throughout the dynasty. Certain subfunctions, such as inspecting tile manufacture, were important enough to create a special office called The Tile Bureau, which, by close of the dynasty, employed forty-four tile experts. Roofs of most farm houses, however, are thatched with rice straw, and ordinary houses must be rethatched annually.

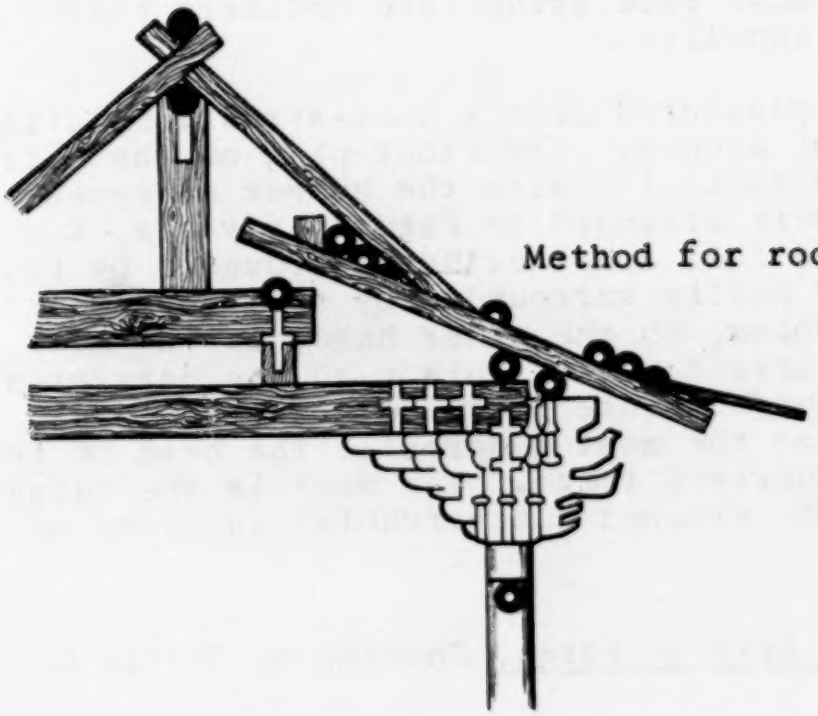
The walls are plastered with a clay-straw composition and set on a base of stones. The floor plan of the Korean house usually forms an L or U with the number of rooms varying. "Houses were arranged to form courtyards, the commoners having one full court either surrounded by four narrow pavilions or partly surrounded by them in a U or L shaped plan; the nobles, on the other hand, having many courts in an axial arrangement. This plan has persisted to the present in Korean house planning. The southwest corner was considered the most honorable, the head of the family having his quarters there. The east is the vulgar side, occupied by the kitchen and servants' quarters or used for storage."[1]

[1]Evelyn McCune, The Arts of Korea, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962, p. 42



Nailless jointure techniques





Method for roof construction

Separate Quarters for Family Members

Separate apartments for men and women have been a strict custom in Korean society. To observe this custom, even husbands and wives, unless in the lower classes, maintain separate rooms, men living in the outer and women in the inner rooms. As one steps into the gateway he will find two smaller gates leading to separate quarters - men's quarters and women's quarters. The women's quarters are separated from the men's quarters by a partition, wall, or hedge rows, so that outsiders may not see inside. If there is a woman visitor in the inner room, the male members refrain from approaching and even the kinsmen do not enter the inner rooms unless invited. The room adjoining the gate is for a male servant who tends the gate. On the other side of the gate several storage rooms are attached. Children stay in 건너방 next to 마루 , a wooden floored room. The 안 방 is the main room where the lady of the house stays. The kitchen and servants' rooms are in the back of the house (see the layout plan). Over ninety percent of the housing consists of small thatch-roofed, mud-and-stone houses with one, two, or three wings, a courtyard, and a gate. Houses are always fenced off, even if the fence is only made of pine brush or 'Kaoliang' (corn) stalks. In the countryside, it fits into the surrounding landscape, usually facing south, and always manages to be comfortable and cozy in any weather."[2]

Heated Floor, 'Ondol'

Koreans have had radiant heating in their homes for 1,500 years. "The ondol floor is laid about a foot above the level of the kitchen fireplace. Four or five flues are run from the fireplace through the ondol floor. The flues are made by constructing ridges about a foot high with rocks and clay. Slabs of granite are then laid atop the ridges to form the heating channels, with small stones or bricks filling the innumerable crevices between and around the slabs as fully as possible. Clay is carefully worked into all crevices and then smoothly plastered over the entire floor surface. For a full day the clay is dried by heating, and the cracks that appear in the clay are filled and smoothed again."[2] The clay is covered by several layers of paper and on top is glued a thick oiled paper - 장판 , made from mulberry wood fibers. The floor is then varnished with several coats of 'k'ongdaem', a soy bean product. This gives the floor a fine, light yellow, glossy finish, which is easily cleaned.

[2]Kim, Hyontay, Folklore & Customs of Korea, 1959, pp 93,94

Problems with the Ondol System

The 'ondol' floors are heated twenty-four hours a day, year around, except in summer when they are heated only to prevent mildew. As a result, Korean people faced growing scarcity of wood fuel. Because everyone chopped down trees, Korea became deforested. Consequently, Korean people suffered frequent floods and a lack of fire wood. The government finally set up a reforestation program and prohibited the cutting of trees. Soil Conservation Day was established for annual planting of trees throughout the country. Along with this, the government encouraged all citizens to use 'kugongt'am'--coal powder pressed into a cylinder--instead of firewood. Nearly every house adjusted the fireplace, 'agungji', for the use of 'kugongtam'.

Utilization of Rooms

There is a minimum of furniture in each room. Any room can be converted into a bedroom, dining room, and living room since the furniture they use is easily moveable. Because of the heating system, the floor is the warmest place to sit. Koreans therefore developed the custom of eating at very low tables slightly raised from the floor. They sit on cushions and sleep on quilts laid on the floor. Koreans remove their shoes before entering the house to keep rooms clean and shiny.

e. Customs

(1) National Holidays

New Year's Day - January 1st - Sŭlnal, reveals one of the unique differences in observance of holidays between Korea and other Western nations. The New Year celebration begins on the first day of the First Month under the Lunar Calendar, thus falling about a month after the New Year's Day of the Solar Calendar. Although the government, schools, banks and other offices now use the Solar Calendar and its January 1st is the legal holiday, the majority of the Koreans still continue to observe holidays by the Lunar Calendar. The fisherman measures flow of the tide according to the moon. The farmer plants and cultivates his crops by the change of the moon rather than by the sun.

Even if one celebrates the New Year by the Solar Calendar, he still will prepare delicacies and entertainment in honor of the Lunar New Year for all his neighbors, all of whom will visit to show their good will on this day of happiness.

On New Year's Eve, candles and oil lamps are placed under the eaves, at the gate, and in all the rooms. No one sleeps. It is considered an act of laziness and an insult to good Honorable New Year if one sleeps on New Year's Eve. Such slumber is believed to hasten aging; anyone who sleeps that night will turn grey. Sometimes when children fall asleep, their parents prankishly cover their eyebrows with white powder. When they awake in the morning, they hand them a mirror. Adults gather their friends for the party of "FORGETTING [illegible]YEAR," held for the purpose of erasing from the memory every bitter experience had in the past 12 months.

On New Year's morning everyone wears his best clothes. Young children wear bright colors, reds, blues and yellows. Mothers never scold their children on this day, for it is believed that if they do something wrong, or are angry on this very first day of the year, they will be likely to repeat the error throughout the year.

Relatives and neighbors visit their elders to bow, paying their respects. Children visit every neighbor's home to bow.[1] The New Year's day bow is not just bowing the head,

[1]When children visit neighbors' homes to make bows to the elders for New Years' greetings, usually they receive five or ten cents from the elders which is similar to the American custom of trick or treat on Halloween night.

but a graceful ceremony in which head, arms and body move in slow rhythm nearly to the floor, then slowly rise again. The elders always bless their juniors and wish them happiness. The holidays used to last until the fifteenth of the first month. During the holidays the old scholars composed poems of happiness and good will and sent them to their friends. But at present, people are so busy that they celebrate only a few days at the first of the new year, and the fifteenth of January.

It is also believed that on the evening of the fifteenth, when the moon is full, the one who sees the moon at the first possible moment will be lucky throughout the year. Some villagers climb up the mountains to await the rising of the moon, in order to see it earlier than those who stay below. Some villagers go to a nearby bridge, because they believe that those who walk on the bridge on the fifteenth night will not get diseases of the foot in the coming year, because in Korean language the sounds for "foot" and "bridge" are the same.

As night deepens under the full moon, groups of musicians with horns, cymbals, clarinets, and drums go from house to house playing ancient melodies while people dance with whirling motions and quick gestures of the hands and head. The rhythm of the drumbeat far and near is heard late into the night as the fires die down and the New Year celebration draws to an end.

Independence Day - March 1 - Samilcheol, is celebrated by the entire nation. This is the day of celebration commemorating the original 33 patriots who signed the proclamation of independence in 1919.[2]

Under the leadership of those 33 representatives, over 100,000 citizens and students participated in the nonviolent demonstration against the Japanese rule. The demonstration lasted several months.

As a result, most of the 33 patriots lost their lives while being tortured by the Japanese police. A few, however, escaped death and left the country. Some of the survivors fled to Shanghai and there established a provisional government whose first president was Dr. Syngman Rhee.

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[2]Original 33 patriots--main representatives of religious groups: 16 people from Christianity, 15 from Chundogyo and 2 from Buddhism.

The main places of commemoration are Pagoda Park in Seoul, where the Declaration of Independence is read, and Seoul Stadium, where big pageants are held.

Arbor Day - March 21 - Sigmogil is observed by planting trees throughout the country as a part of the Republic of Korea's reforestation program.

Constitution Day - July 17 - Cheheonjeol commemorates the proclamation of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea on 17 July 1948. The principal ceremonies are held in Seoul's Capitol Plaza.

Liberation Day - August 15 - Kwangbokcheol commemorates the acceptance by Japan of the Allied terms of surrender in 1945, which thereby freed Korea from the Japanese rule. The day also marks the formal establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948. Military parades and ceremonies in Seoul Stadium highlight the day's events. Seoul's buses and street cars are colorfully decorated.

Harvest Moon Festival - September 10 (August 15, Lunar) - Ch'useok is, in some respects, similar to our Thanksgiving day. People visit family tombs, make food offerings, and trim the burial grounds. The day's symbolic food is song-puon, a half-moon shaped rice cake filled with sweet and salted bean paste and steamed with pine needles.

It is an important autumn Korean holiday which began in ancient times. Busy farmers, who have been working hard throughout the summer, relax, drink rice wine, and savor delicacies, all to the accompaniment of music.

Truly this is the joyous season for peasants. Villagers celebrate their harvest. dancing and singing at camp fires.

Early in the morning families have services in memory of their ancestors. Next, they visit their ancestors' graves and pay them tribute in the oriental fashion of bowing.

During the reign of Kink Yuri of the Silla Dynasty, it was the custom for the women and girls who were professional weavers to assemble with their products in his palace.[3] He inspected their handiwork, marvelling at their skill and art.

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[3]Kim, Yong Ik, The Moons of Korea, p. 52.

The King then would entertain them with a grand party to show his appreciation for their beautiful handicraft.

Armed Forces Day - October 1 - Kookgunenal is one of the most colorful events observed by the members of the Republic of Korea Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. In the morning, crack honor guards of all branches and the cadets of the Military Academies assemble in Seoul Stadium. This gathering is usually followed by a parade down the Capitol avenue, honoring the President. One of the day's high-lights is an air show held along the Han River bank. Every year tens of thousands of Seoul citizens crowd the Han River bank to observe this pageant.

National Foundation Day - October 3 - Kaech'enjeol officially marks the nation's birthday. A ceremony held at the Capitol Plaza commemorates Tangun's legendary descent from heaven nearly 4,300 years ago.

Korean Alphabet Day - October 9 - Hangulnal is observed with ceremonies marking the anniversary of the adoption of Hangul, the Korean Alphabet, invented by King Se-jong of the Yi dynasty in 1446. Calligraphy contests are held during the day.

United Nations Day - October 24 - U.N. nal is the day on which government officials and the U.N. Command join in official ceremonies at the Capitol Plaza, Seoul. At the U.N. Cemetery at Pusan a memorial service is held in honor of U.N. soldiers who died in the Korean War.

(2) Religious Holidays

On the Birthday of Buddha - April 8 (Lunar) - Pail solemn rituals are observed at the Buddhist temples throughout the country. It is also known as the Feast of the Lanterns. The day is set aside for meditation and rededication, at the end of which endless nocturnal processions take place as tens of thousands of people, each holding a glowing amber lantern, light their way to the temples.

On Mother's Day - May 8 -Ŏmŏni-ŭi nal churches throughout the country hold special services to commemorate mothers. As in the United States, on this day the "Mother of the Year" is selected and awards and entertainment are given by church or social organizations. This holiday developed under the influence of Christianity.

Thanksgiving Sunday - Kamsachel, - the last Sunday in November, is celebrated according to the Western calendar. There are some special programs by Sunday school children for church services. Customarily women's clubs or Sunday school teachers prepare big Thanksgiving banquets for the congregation.

Christmas Day - December 25 - Sŏngtanchel, is celebrated by Koreans and foreigners in the country as it is in the Western World. Highlighting the holiday are the scenes of mass gifts and organization of parties for orphans and other needy folks -- a prime activity of UN troops here as well as of Koreans. Cardinal Spellman, the Military Vicar of the United States, usually spends the Christmas holidays with the American troops along the front lines.

(3) Ancestor Worship

Worship services held by members of a family and their relatives in memory of their ancestors are one of the most important events in the life of a family. The ancestral hall is traditionally kept in the home of the head family (oldest son).[4] Therefore other younger brothers and their families join the ceremony at their oldest brother's home.

This ceremony honors the last four deceased generations,[5] and it is the responsibility of the eldest son or the head of the clan to take care of this service with his relatives, If there are older graves belonging to the family, they are also cared for. Ancestor worship is a traditional family gathering and Koreans adhere to this in earnest. Many do not believe that the spirits return on this festival day, but they continue the ceremony out of respect for their dead elders, because the observance brings back memories of their childhood. Ancestor worship is a custom, not a religious ceremony or a superstition, as is sometimes supposed by those with a background of Western Culture.

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[4]The ancestral hall is like a small shrine which contains names of the ancestors. Some families keep pictures of their ancestors or some belongings which the deceased used while they were alive.

[5]Four generations are counted from the present head of the household. For example, the father is the head of the household, the grandfather, great grandfather and his father, etc.

Order and Manner of Worship

For a few days before the service, Koreans are very careful in keeping their minds and bodies clean and pure. Relatives, both men and women, come and prepare many delicacies for their ancestors. Prosperous families usually prepare rice wine and poor ones barley wine or kafir corn wine. The rest of the food is prepared according to family budget.

The head of the clan washes his hands and writes his ancestors' names and messages of greetings on small pieces of paper. He uses a small brush made of weasel's tail or rabbit hair, attached to a bamboo stick. He always uses handmade rice paper and black ink from ink stone for writing.

Just before a family starts its service, one of the members attaches the small papers with the ancestors' names to a beautiful container made of wood and places it in the middle of the table along the far edge. Each greeting is read in the course of the service. Incense is kept burning during the whole ceremony which lasts from half an hour to an hour. The women bring and take out the food during the service, while the family lines up before the table according to seniority.

In this ceremony every detail is carried out according to the fine old Korean tradition. If possible, everyone wears a white outer gown and horse-hair hat which is an old Korean custom. The dishes are the old brass bowls and plates which have been used for many generations. The women fill these with the best food available and place it ceremoniously on the table. The male members of the family offer the food to the deceased ancestors with low and deep bows.

After they have offered food and wine and bowed three times, they sit down and wait a little while to give the ancestors' spirits time to eat the offerings. Meanwhile, the men call up memories of their fathers or grandfathers and talk quietly about them. After having waited a while they again bow and take a very small serving of food which they choose from the table. Then they burn the papers with their ancestors' names and greetings and end the ceremony.

As the ceremony ends, the relatives, neighbors, and the family all gather around, sharing and finishing the remaining food. It is the custom to send some of the food to the neighbors, especially to old folks who could not participate in the ceremony. They gratefully eat the food which was supposedly blessed by the ancestors' spirits.

(4) Legendary Holidays

Tan-O Day - May 5 (Lunar) - Tan O nal marks the end of the spring plowing and planting, the time when the peasants turn their minds prayerfully toward harvest. Outdoor gatherings are held for singing and dancing to tunes of country musicians wearing paper hats in the shape of some flower. Mothers dress their children in new, multicolored clothes and touch each rosy cheek with a dab of pink powder. Girls wash their hair in water mixed with sweet-flags or boiled blooms and tie on beautiful ribbons. Traditionally girls participate in swing contests and men and boys in wrestling matches. Even a long time ago, when it was the custom for girls to remain secluded, they were allowed the diversion of swinging under the great green trees. In an ancient Korean epic drama the hero says that girls while swinging look alternately like flowers falling and magpies flying off. The famous Korean love story, Chung-Hyang and Mong-Yong's eternal romance was also originated by Chun-Hyang's beautiful pose on a swing.

The Legend of Magpies - July 8 (Lunar) - Chilsŭknal is an old story of the Weaver's Star and the Plowman's Star, relating the Magpie's annual trip to the Milky Way on the seventh of the Seventh Month. The congregating Magpies form a link, a bridge, between the two lovers, the Plowman's Star and the beautiful Weaver's Star, which hitherto have remained separated in the heavens by the river of the Milky Way. The following is the ancient legend.

The Plowman's Star and the Weaver's Star loved each other and loved so passionately that they forgot their own duties and occupations of plowing and weaving and met each other too often. The King of the heavenly bodies separated them by placing them on the opposite shores of the Milky Way, hoping that they would now attend to their work of plowing and weaving. But each longed to see the other and their minds were not on their work. Finally the great Oneness had to allow them to meet each other once a year on the

Seventh of the Seventh Month. The kind-hearted Magpies flew up and formed a bridge in the sky across which the lovers could go to each other. The meeting lasted only one night after which they had to return to their places. Rain in the evening means lover's tears of joy upon meeting and rain next morning is the lover's tears at parting.

Cold Food Day - Hansignal, occuring during the early part of March (Lunar) is the time when large banquets are prepared to be taken to the graves of the ancestors. Gay groups of well-dressed people dot the green mountainsides. They trim the trees, cut the grass with their sharp sickles, and clean the area around the graves.

As the name implies, in older times people ate only cold food on this day. Nowadays the majority of the people who live in the countryside still widely practice this old custom. Women make rice bread, mugworth bread and azalea pancakes. Azalea pancakes are acclaimed to be great delicacies. Kim Sak Kat, an ancient Korean poet, while eating this said whimsically, "Azalea pancakes bring to my stomach the color of spring."

At the graves of the ancestors, after the brief worship ceremony, people sit on the grass in a circle and have a big feast. After eating, some people dance and sing, others recite poems. The children play around the bases of the high mounded graves. They chase butterflies, pick flowers, and sing gay songs, thoroughly enjoying the beautiful spring day.

This holiday brings to modern Korea the happiness and gaiety of the first spring picnic. But the original meaning of Hansignal was one of mourning. In ancient China, during the Chin Dynasty, a faithful subject named Kae served the King loyally. In times of danger, he risked his life for the safety of his King. When at last peace was restored the King set a day to reward his subjects. Many were honored, but strangely enough, the King forgot Kae's services and no mention was made of his great services. Kae, with a sad heart, fled to the mountain of Kum to hide himself. Later the King, realizing his great neglect of a faithful servant, was filled with remorse and sent many searchers everywhere. They learned that Kae was hiding in a place so wild that they could not reach him. The King finally decided to set fire to the forest, leaving only one way

of escape for his faithful subject. But Kae refused to come out, and he perished in the flames. The neighboring nations hearing this news, felt so deeply the tragic death of this hero that every year on this day they ate only the food that had never been touched by fire.

Winter Solstice Day - December 22 (November 30 by Lunar) - Tongjinnal, three days before Christmas, is the shortest day of the year. Ancient Koreans thought that the universe consisted of light and shadow. Sun or day was light, moon or night shadow, male light and female shadow. After this shortest day of the year, the day becomes dominant over night and the days move toward the New Year.

In Korean homes, it is customary to eat hot red bean goulash with little balls of rice on Tongji Day. A portion of the red bean soup is thrown on the front door or gate to keep away the particular evil spirit that is responsible for causing diseases. An old legend states that there once lived a spoiled ill-tempered boy who greatly disliked red bean soup. He died on this particular day and thereafter he became the legendary god of disease. The Koreans today do not believe this story any more than the Occidental people believe that Santa Claus comes down the chimney.

(5) Some Special Festivities

Wedding-Traditional and Modern. The Traditional Korean marriage was basically an agreement between the heads of the two families concerned. In old Korea romantic love between men and women was not allowed, nor was any candid exhibition of mutual affection. Such behavior was not even possible in most cases because of the early marriage system which used to prevail.

In many cases, the husband was a young child in his early teens, whereas the wife was much too old to be attractive. This dilemma was solved by the institution of concubinage which allowed the husband to have a "second wife" to live under the same roof with the "chief wife."

Matrimony was considered an extremely serious affair upon which hinged the good or bad fortune of the husband's family. An intermarriage between different social castes was, therefore, exceptional. Thus, uppermost in the minds of the parents in arranging a matrimony was the "family name" of the other party. The economic status, therefore,

was relegated to a secondary place, though higher social status usually meant correspondingly higher income.

For the women, remarriage was considered to be an act of shameful breach of faith against the soul of her deceased husband. The Confucian civil code never allowed divorce.

Another characteristic custom, still in practice today, is that a married woman retains her maiden name intact because the wife is regarded as a member of her parents family rather than her husband's. After all, to the Koreans, marriage fundamentally is the union of two families.

Under the influence of Western culture, in the past half a century or so, much has changed. Marriage based on love in the Western sense of the word has become increasingly popular, especially in urban areas. Recently, the younger generation has openly defied the tradition by "falling in love," a practice which was not only frowned upon, but strictly forbidden in bygone years.

The wedding ceremony may take any one of the ritual forms provided for by the various religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, chondoism, Christianity, or, following the modern urban style, it can take place in a commercial "wedding parlor."

The traditional Confucian style, originally stemming from the Six Etiquettes by Chu Hsi, a neo-Confucianist, is still popular in rural districts.

Wearing the wedding hat, the "official belt," and the wedding coat, the groom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, starts out on the trip to the bride's home on horse-back or in a brightly decorated planquin. On the wedding day, the Confucian ritual requires the groom to wait outside the bride's house until he is invited in by one of the bride's family members. After some waiting outside the bride's home, the groom is finally admitted, following the "wedding chest" carrier who has been accompanying him together with his relatives.

The waiting bride, with heavy make-up consisting of face powder and rouge, a tremendous silver hair pin sticking out of her hair, and the traditional wedding costume of yellow and blue coat with a red or pink skirt, greets the

groom and his family with deep bows. The wedding costumes of both the bride and bridegroom are similar to uniform and dress used in the Court. During the Yi Dynasty even the commoners were permitted to wear such outfits for the wedding ceremony.

Flanked by the best man and bridesmaids, the couple is seated at the center of a long table, which is loaded with various rice cakes, fruits, meat, and other delicacies. The nuptial vow takes the form of drinking ceremonial wine. The ceremony involves three "full" bows by the bride and two "full" and one "half" bows by the bridegroom.

Then the wedding feast begins. Mischievous friends bind together the two legs of the resisting groom, hanging him upside down from the beam of the house. They coax him to give another big feast for all of them. The spree over, the bride and groom retire to the bridal chamber to consummate the marriage. After spending three nights at the bride's home, the groom takes the bride to his own home, where the entire process of the wedding ceremony may be repeated.

Christians usually observe the ceremony at a church. The formality and customs of such weddings are similar to those of Western weddings. A reception party may follow an urban, Western-style wedding, or a small cake in a box may be presented to each guest after the wedding ceremony in place of a party. The honeymoon trip has almost become a rule for Westernized couples.

First birthday celebrations. When a Korean male child reaches his first birthday, he is formally introduced to his family and friends at a special party. Relatives and friends bring gifts of money, usually placed in envelopes so that no one can see the amount.

The child is placed before a table on which are piled the various items, each representing a different trade or profession. Tradition says that whatever item the child grasps first, whether it be a tailor's needle, a scholar's writing brush, or an artisan's tool, for example, indicates his choice of a career.

61st birthday celebration. Older people, especially grandparents, are held in special honor. According to the custom, the first cycle of a man's life ends at age 61, when

he is considered "reborn" and enters the second cycle. The next person in line becomes the head of the family, and the old man devotes himself to advising younger people and to the leisurely pursuits of retirement.

f. Cuisine

(1) The Korean Meal

Rice, the Main Dish 밥

The Korean meal, as a rule, is made up of the main dish of steamed rice, and side dishes of soup, meat, fish, and vegetables. Korean food is highly seasoned but found to be extremely delicious by those who have tried it. The preparation is time-consuming, but there is a certain satisfaction that results from serving guests many dishes from which they may choose what they like.

The main dish of steamed rice is served at practically every meal. It is usually prepared plain. Sometimes other grains and such vegetables and fruits as beans, chestnuts, potatoes, sweet potatoes, dates, bean sprouts, mushrooms, and Kim Chi are included.

Side Dishes 반찬

Meat is considered a side dish. The most important meat is beef, but other meats such as pork, chicken, rabbit, mutton, pheasant, deer, and boar are also used. (In some localities, dog meat is also appreciated during the summer months).

Meat is roasted or cooked with water to make soup since frying is not the traditional method--though frying is now becoming popular. Fundamentally, most of the dishes are mixtures of meat and vegetables.

The vegetables used most abundantly are radishes, cabbage, soy bean sprouts, spinach, green bean sprouts, and lettuce. They are often cooked as separate dishes. Seasoning calls for liberal amounts of red pepper, black pepper, green onion, garlic, ginger, sesame seed and sesame oil.

Bean paste and soybean sauce are the other essential varieties of food, both of which are used to make soup and to flavor side dishes of all kinds.[1] Since these two find their way into virtually all kinds of side dishes and are mixed with meat, seafoods, and vegetables, they play a decisive role in the taste of most Korean foods. The soybean sauce and the bean paste lend a unique flavor to the taste

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[1] 한국소식 , Vol. 3, 1963
meat 고기, vegetables 야채, bean paste 고추장, soybean sauce 간장.

Kimjang

of the foods prepared in each home. The bean paste and the soybean sauce are, as a rule, prepared in every home for their own use.

Some of the most important vegetables, without which the Korean meal can never be completed, are radishes, cabbage, green onions, and others, all of these find their way into the Kimch'i pot. Kimch'i is the Korean equivalent of both pickles and vegetable salad of the West.

In late autumn or early winter a large quantity of Kimch'i or winter Kimch'i called Kimjang is prepared in each home to ensure a full supply of the side dish throughout the winter until the next spring when fresh vegetables will again be available.

Thus, tons of radishes and cabbages are piled high in market places during the Kimch'i preparation season in the fall. Each household buys a cartload, and all the women-folk are kept busy for several days preparing this food. It is stored in giant crocks buried in the earth, to be taken out in small amounts at each mealtime.

There are 13 varieties of Kimch'i according to the way it is prepared.[2] The amount of seasoning, of course, is the decisive factor. One kind may contain so much red pepper that the vegetables will look as red as the red pepper itself. Another may be almost devoid of red pepper.

Among them the Baech'u-kimch'i 배추 김치 (pickled Chinese cabbage), Bossam-kimch'i 보쌈 김치 (folded kimch'i), Kaktuki 깍두기 (pickled radish), Oisok-baegi 오이 속배기 (cucumber pickles in summer), and Dongchimi 동치미 (radishes in salt water) are most popular.

In recent years, Kimch'i has received a scientific blessing for its rich dietary value from the Central Chemical Laboratory in Seoul. Analyzing samples, the laboratory found that Kimch'i contains a surprisingly large amount of vitamin C as well as substantial amounts of protein, fats, carbohydrates, calcium, and vitamin B.

Since the major foods of the Korean people are grain and vegetables with a very small amount of animal meat, Kimch'i is considered to be an extremely important part of the diet.

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[2] 한국 소식 , Vol. 3, p. 28 (1963)
Kimjang 김장, Kimch'i 김치.

Favored Dishes

The most delicious and favored dish is Bulgogi, which is beef marinated and broiled over charcoal fire. The thinly sliced pieces of meat are mixed with soy sauce, pepper (black), chopped onion, garlic, sugar, sesame seeds and sesame oil, and then broiled over charcoal fire. It is often served with a beverage. This Korean Bulgogi is very popular everywhere it is introduced.

Sinsŏllo refers both to a typical high-class cooking utensil which is similar to a chafing dish and to the food which is cooked in it right at the table. It is brass or silver bowl with a small chimney in the center which holds burning charcoal. Sinsollo requires more than 19 different ingredients, of which the basic ones are beef, pork, abalone, gingo nuts, white meat fish[3], onion, carrots, bamboo shoots, dried mushrooms, eggs, flour and water cress. This delicious concoction is usually cooked and beautifully arranged in the bowl, and then broth is poured on top. It is served in the Sinsollo on the table.

Vegetables predominate

Vegetables predominate in the diet of Koreans. The vegetables used most abundantly are bean sprouts (soy bean and green bean), spinach, radish, cabbage and lettuce. Vegetables are often cooked with meat as separate dishes (as a side dish) and are used in making soup. Seasoning calls for a liberal amount of soy sauce, red pepper, black pepper, green onion, garlic, vinegar, sesame seed, sesame oil, etc. (Cf. I.B.2.)

Marine products 수산물

Being a peninsula, Korea produces many kinds of fish. The most widely used kinds of fish are pollack, cod, sea-bass, and yellow corvina. These fish furnish indispensable protein to the people whose diets are otherwise mostly vegetables.

The important sea food Kim (laver) is a kind of seaweed which is dried on straw and looks like a sheet of dark green paper approximately 9" by 11" in size. After being basted with sesame oil and salt, Kim is heated over open flame. It is then cut into small pieces and served.

[3]Sea bass, abalone, shrimp, and scallop etc.

Bulgogi불고기, Sinsollo신선로, fish생선, Kim 김.

Another important sea food is Miyŏk which is widely used for soup. For several centuries its value has been so highly appreciated that a mother is always fed Miyok soup following a child's birth. Therefore, Miyok is often given as a gift for a new mother.

Homemade Confections

In recent years the Western-style cakes and candies have become increasingly popular. However, the traditional Korean confections are still in wide use and they include Yot, Honggwa, Ttok and Tanja which are natural sweets.

Among the various sweets, Yŏt is the most popular. Yot is a candy, made by fermenting flours of various grains -- most commonly flour of rice, wheat, corn, bean, potato, etc.

The most popular confection associated with holidays, weddings, festivities, memorial services, etc., is Ttŏk, or rice cake. Not only rice but any kind of grain may be used to make Ttok, but rice is most widely used by Korean housewives.

Several different processes are required to make it pure and simple. Ordinary rice is first steamed and then mashed or ground to be rolled into cylinders about half an inch in diameter.

Instead of ordinary rice, the sticky glutinous rice or other grains such as wheat or barley may also be used. In such cases, however, the cake is cut into square or circular forms and is usually coated with red bean jelly or bean powder.

Instead of the usual process of browning the flour first, to be followed by grinding, the sequence may be reversed to make a different kind of cake. The rice or flour may be mixed with small amounts of vegetables or fruits to give a flavor to the final product.

The cake may be coated with red bean jelly, bean powder, or molasses, or wrapped with fragrant grass or leaves. In short, many varieties of the cake may be prepared--the limit being the materials available, financial resources, and the ingenuity of the housewife.

Miyok 미역, Yot 엿, Ttok 떡.

The cake thus prepared usually lasts several days, during the course of which the cake hardens. Then, it is either toasted over fire or steamed again to soften it.

The making of rice cake has become so firmly established that on holidays it is an indispensable item on the tables of the Korean people. On the eve of national holidays, such as New Year's Day, Tano in spring[4], and Chusok[5] in autumn, every house prepares its own cake, sending out the merry sounds of the grinding or beating of rice by the menfolk with giant wooden hammers on a large heavy wooden board.

Thus, the larger and busier the sound of the beating of the steamed rice on the eve of a holiday, the more prosperous the house is judged. In recent years, however, electric mills have stifled all such noises of merriment, at least in cities and towns.

(2) Beverages 음료

Non-alcoholic Drinks

Among the teas the Korean ginseng has been widely known as a valuable herb since the olden days. In recent years, it has been imported to the United States and one can find it in various stores. Ginseng tea has been treasured as an energy-building tonic for anyone who is ailing. Some other teas such as ginger tea and cinnamon tea are appreciated for their flavors.

In warm summer, honey-water, or bee-honey diluted with cold water has been one of the most popular drinks.

Adorning practically every wedding party and festive table is sik'ye, which is called "sweet wine" despite its non-alcoholic content. It is sweetened natural rice water made with fermented sprouts.

Sujŏnggwa, or liquid fruitcake, is softened persimmons in cinnamon-flavored sugar water with pine nuts floating on top served cold with other nuts and fruits.

Aside from the beverages prepared for festive occasions or memorial services, the drink most frequently used today after each meal is sungnyung, the warm water poured into the

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[4]Tano is on May 5th,

[5]Chusŏk is on Aug. 15th

ginger tea	인삼차
cinnamon tea	계피차
honey-water	꿀물
Sujonggwa	수정과
Sungnyung	숭늉

cooking pot of rice after the steamed rice is taken out. The residue of the steamed rice is diluted with water to give the resulting beverage a unique flavor of lightly scorched rice.

This sungnyung is served after meal in place of tea or coffee, even though the urban host may serve guests a Western-style meal.

Another traditional beverage served at festivities is Hwachae, or the flower drink. The water is sweetened with molasses and flavored with small edible flower petals floating in it.

Alcoholic Drinks. 술

The traditional alcoholic beverages are Takju, Yakju, and Soju. Various drinks of foreign origin, such as whiskey and Japanese Sake are as popular as the traditional liquors.

Takju is made from inexpensive stock, such as corn, barley, potatoes.[6] Yellowish in color, its alcoholic content ranges from 15 to 20 per cent. It becomes sour in a few days when the weather is warm. It is usually favored by farmers and laborers because it is inexpensive.

Yakju is slightly higher in alcoholic content than Takju (20-25%). Brewed from rice, yakju is accordingly a little more expensive than Takju. This liquor may be taken as medicine by mixing in it some medicinal herbs.

The strongest native liquor is Soju (28-45% alcoholic content). It is made from grain or potatoes and looks as pure as water. Unlike Takju and Yakju, it does not turn sour in warm weather. Accordingly it is enjoyed widely during summer.

Besides the above mentioned beverages, some localities produce their own unique drinks. Various fruits and fragrant vegetables are added to what is basically Soju to brew liquors of many names, such as Igang-ju 李薑酒 (plum-ginger liquor), Omiju - 木蓮酒 (magnolia liquor), Paekhwa-ju 百花酒 (hundred-flower liquor), Kukhwa-ju 菊花酒 (chrysanthemum liquor). These names are indicative of the fruits or vegetables mixed in Soju.

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[6] 한국 소식 Volume 3 p. 31 (1963) by Tong-Won Im.

Takju 탁주 Yakju 약주 Soju 소주

(3) Serving the Meal

Everyday Tables 밥상

The regular meal is prepared in the kitchen and brought to the room on a small table. The typical Korean house does not have a dining room as such. A central room of the house is used for this purpose. For a regular meal, two persons sit on the floor face to face across a small dining table on which cooked rice is placed to the left and soup to the right. a spoon and a pair of chopsticks lie along the right edge of the table.

Other side dishes, which are usually shared by the two persons, are placed in the middle of the table. When a meal is taken by more than two persons, each pair is served at a separate table.

The most common table for the regular meal is about two feet, ten inches high. It is finished in black lacquer. The most elaborate but rarer kind is hexagonal, finished in red with mother-of-pearl inlays of flowers, birds, or natural scenery.

Noodle soup has long been a favorite food of the people in the northern part of the country who prefer the cold noodle soup even during mid-winter. Noodle soup, either warm or cold, is usually served to guests at large gatherings. The table on which this soup is served is called the noodle table.

As the name indicates the wine table is used to serve wine rather than food. Since the Korean people eat while drinking, a considerably large quantity of side dishes--cooked meat, raw meat, broiled meat, kimch'i, soup, etc., are served with the drinks.

Special tables

The First Birthday Table is prepared to celebrate a child's first birthday--a day of significance in the olden days when the rate of infant mortality was high. The baby assumes the role of the "host" to invite relatives and neighbors and entertains them with various delicacies.

Besides the usual foods, the First Birthday table contains a skein of thread, a book, a writing brush, Indian

noodle table 국수상
wine table 술상
The First Birthday Table 첫돌상

ink, and money. Whatever the baby-host grabs first is supposed to symbolize his future. The thread symbolizes longevity; the money wealth; the book or writing brush and Indian Ink, scholarship.

The "Large Table" is used for a very big occasion, such as a wedding or the 61st birthday celebration. It is dedicated to the central figures of the celebration. All kinds of delicacies are on the table, beautifully arranged, for the foods are not to be eaten at the time of the celebration, but to be presented after their exhibition, to the guests.

The Memorial Service Table is set to offer services to one's ancestors, or to the Shaman gods on various holidays, and on the day of a parent's death. It is similar to the "Large Table", except for the "divine tablet" placed at the center to which the foods are dedicated.

Food Containers 음식 그릇

Traditional food containers are, with a few exceptions, bowls rather than flat dishes. They are made of wood, shiny brass, or china. Inexpensive chinaware is now more widely used. Today, woodware is relatively rare. They are preserved by old families to be used on the occasion of memorial services. In recent years, alloys of metals and plastic have won increasing popularity. Bowls, dishes, and cups of Western style have been used more extensively in recent years.

Spoons and chopsticks 수저

The spoon is made of brass, silver, or alloys, and the chopsticks made of metal, wood, plastic, or ivory. Tradition, however, places silver above others as the material for fine spoons and chopsticks.

(4) Table Manners

Table manners require one to sit erect at the table and wait until the elder takes up his spoon or chopsticks.

One picks up the spoon with his right hand and takes soup as an appetizer, then eats rice and other side dishes alternately.

The "Large Table" 큰상
The Memorial Service Table 제사상

Eating Soup and other Liquid Foods

Soup and other liquid foods are to be taken with the spoon, chopsticks being used to pick up solid foods. While not in use, the spoon and chopsticks have to be laid on one's right beside the soup bowl. In no case should they be left in the dish or bowl. Leaving the silver sticks in the rice is a grave offense, for it is a symbol that the food is offered to a deceased soul--the practice of an offering at a memorial service.

Throughout the meal, the left hand is to lie under the table, but may be brought up on the table to hold or tilt a dish or bowl towards oneself, never towards another.

Conversation during the course of the meal is discouraged, in contrast to the Western practice. As a matter of fact, children are often admonished to stop talking while eating. This is being changed gradually.

Serving Guests

When a meal is taken with a guest, the host, towards the end of the meal, urges the guest to eat more as a measure of politeness, which the guest declines regardless of his state of appetite. The process is repeated several times, the host urging the guest to take more and the guest politely but firmly declining.

It is considered decorous to leave a small quantity of rice in the bowl, but, at the persistence of the host, the rice bowl may be emptied by pouring warm water into the bowl and eating the rice mixed with the water towards the end of the meal.

Eating in a Restaurant

When eating out in a restaurant, the Korean people seldom go Dutch, even among the most intimate friends. Each person insists on picking up the entire check for the meal.

Tipping at ordinary restaurants is an exception rather than the rule, except at high-class places, particularly such places which are patronized by foreign residents in the country.

soup ~~7~~ 7

(5) Recipes

Chapch'ae -- Mixed Vegetables (잡채)

½ lb	tender meat	2 tbsp sesame oil
¼ lb	bean string(long rice)	5 cloves garlic (crushed)
2 med	onions	3 tbsp soy sauce
4 med	carrots	1 tbsp sugar
3 stocks	celery	1 tsp monsodium glutamate
1	green pepper	½ tsp black pepper
2	eggs (separated)	8 to 10 dried mushrooms
Salt		½ cup chopped onions

Cut all vegetables and meat 1/8 inch thick 2 inches long.

Put bean strings into 2 qts of boiling water and cook until it is soft. Then rinse in cold water and drain in colander. Soak dried mushrooms in hot water until they are soft, then squeeze water out and cut as the vegetables.

Marinate meat and mushrooms with soy sauce, garlic, oil, green onion (½ cup), sugar, monosodium, and pepper. Mix all ingredients well in a bowl before marinating the meat. Cook in an oiled frying pan. All other vegetables are cooked separately in an oiled frying pan to your taste.

Fry egg whites and yolks separately or together in an oiled frying pan as thin as possible and then roll them up in layers and cut into threads and cut again as the vegetables (leave some threaded egg for decoration).

Mix them all in a big container and season to your taste. Decorate the top with the threaded egg white and yolk.

Use bean sprouts when greens are unavailable. Put ½ lb bean sprouts in boiling water and cook until the water starts boiling again, and drain in colander.

Serves: 4 to 7

Bulgoki - Korean Barbecue (불고기)

2 lbs (tender beef)

4 green onions (chopped fine)

3 cloves garlic, crushed

4 tbsp soy sauce (to your taste)

1½ tbsp sugar (to your taste)

¼ tsp black pepper

½ tsp monosodium glutamate

1½ tsp. sesame oil

2 tbsp. sesame seeds, optional

Slice meat (thin 1/8" or 1/4" (most butchers slice it for you.)

Mix all the ingredients well in a bowl and pour meat in little by little as you marinate it gently in a big container.

Press down and leave about 20 to 30 minutes.

Then build a charcoal fire and cook on open fire.

Serves: 4 to 6

Sookju Namul--Beansprouts Salad (숙주 나물)

½ lb beansprouts

½ tsp salt

½ tsp sugar

1 tbsp vinegar

1 tsp sesame oil (any salad oil)

2 green onions, cut diagonal

¼ tsp soy sauce

black pepper

1 clove garlic, crushed

1. Blanch beansprouts in 2 qts. of boiling water. (Stir once and take out immediately; do not cook.) Drain well in colander.
2. After it's chilled, mix gently all the ingredients with beansprouts.
3. Chill before serving.

NOTE: Cucumber (less seeds is the better) and one bunch radishes sliced and sprinkle a little salt. When it gets soft, drain excessive juice from cucumber and radish and mix with beansprouts.

Kim Chi--Cabbage Pickle (김치)

1 med cabbage (about 4 lb)
2 tbsp salt
3 green onions
3 cloves garlic, crushed
1 or 2 tsp. hot chili powder
½ tsp ginger, crushed
1½ tsp salt
2 tsp sugar
1 cup water
1 bell pepper, chopped (optional)

1. Cut cabbage into 1½" length, sprinkle 2 tbsp salt, toss gently and press down the cabbage and leave about 4 hours.

2. Cut the green onion diagonally, crushed garlic and ginger and hot chili pepper. Mix with 1½ tsp. salt.

3. When the cabbage becomes soft, rinse once throughly and drain.

4. Put the ingredients into the cabbage, stir gently and mix 2 tbsp sugar in 1 cup of water and mix in a big container.

5. Press Kim Chi as you put it into a jar and leave in room temperature until (2 or 3 days) it ferments. (When the bubbles start to rise, fermentation is taking place).

NOTE: a. one med diagonal (white long radish) cut 1½" x 1" by ¼", added to cabbage will make it taste better.

b. The longer you leave it the sourer it will become.

c. The amount of salt and hot chili pepper are according to individual taste.

d. The Kim Chi must be covered with Kim Chi juice always, or it will spoil. Cover with salt water if not enough juice.

e. Keep in the refrigerator at all times.

Man Du (만두)

1 lb (60 to 70 pieces) Wondan skin (round is better than square)

1½ lbs ground meat

3/4 cup blanched beansprouts, chopped

1 bunch green onion, chopped fine

½ bean curd (do fu) bread crumbs can be substituted (½ cup)

2 tbsp sesame oil

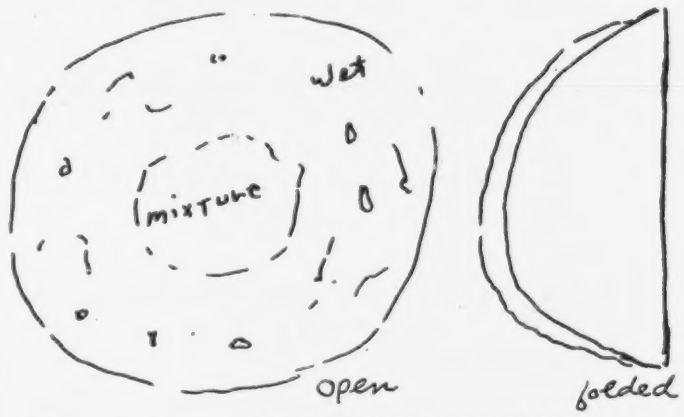
1 tbsp sugar

1 tsp accent

4 or 5 cloves garlic, crushed

1 egg

Salt and pepper to your taste



1. Blanch the beansprouts in 2 quarts of boiling water, (don't cook) drain well, and chop, squeeze the excess water.

2. Mix everything together except the Wondan skin (make like a meat loaf)

3. Wet around the edge of the Wondan skin with water and place 1 tsp full mixture in the center of the Wondan skin and then fold into half. Press 2 skins together tight so that the mixture will not come out while cooking.

4. Deep fry, pan fry, steam or put in a broth to make soup.

NOTE: a. Keep in the freezer if leftovers, either cooked or uncooked.
b. Wondan skin and do fu can be purchased at the oriental grocery store.

2. Artistic and Intellectual Expression

a. Literature

By literature we mean the art which records life and the consciousness of man. Literary art strives for creativeness of expression. Creative writing ranges from simple story-telling to describing rare psychological experiences deep in the human mind. One of the main purposes of any art is to give people pleasure. Spanning space and time, genre and juncture, literature has perhaps been the most human among the varieties of man's artistic delights.

Literature developed in Korea from mythological narratives. Historians say that the difference between the ancient Chinese and Korean mythologies is that while the Chinese separated man from god and man received orders from heaven, Korean mingled god and man. God's son descended to the Korean peninsula and married a terrestial bear, and a human son was born of the marriage to become the first king of Korea. During the ancient Korean rituals, verse-making, singing, and dancing were simultaneously performed. Gradually the three branched off into their independent domains. Poets wrote, musicians sang, and dancers danced.

Korea's geographical closeness to China brought the Koreans into early contact with Chinese literature which flourished in and around China 3,000 years ago. Koreans struggled to understand, imitate, and digest Mandarin ideas and ideologies until 1444 when Hangul was invented. Then, for the first time, Koreans could express their ideas and feelings in their own writing. In a true sense this was the beginning of Korean literature.[1]

The invention of Hangul was a giant step toward literary independence, but the progress of Korean literature was retarded by the disdain which the intelligentsia showed towards the new writing system. To make things worse, Korea was plunged into a veritable dark age by the Japanese invasion (1592 A.D.). Government officials fled from their offices, civilians were massacred, soldiers defeated, and the entire land was scorched. As a result, people found very little time for literature. But when the tides of invasion receded, there arose a new literature, not among the discredited soldiers and aristocrats, but by and for the common people.

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[1]The "Idu" writings which utilized Chinese characters for Korean sentences--especially for sentence endings--antedated Hangul but had little influence on Korean literature.

This literary movement, coinciding with the advancement of printing skills, flooded the country with now-treasured literary masterpieces. But this lively literary heart-ticking was again hampered by the Japanese through their annexation of Korea in 1910. Men with pens were not allowed an uninterrupted "stream of consciousness" but were always harassed. Under the Japanese governor-general's iron fist, Korean writers could only try to preserve what there was of the Korean language and its literary products.

However, after the end of the Second World War, Koreans witnessed another dawn in the development of their literature. Men behind the desk as well as people on the street thought simply that high noon would follow the long-awaited daybreak and very few foresaw the impending death and inferno which the fateful 38th parallel would bring to the "Land of the Morning Calm." The holocaust of the Korean War lasted three years and its impact upon literature was expressed in the existentialistic current which emphasized man's individuality in a purposeless world and advocated opposition to a hostile environment through the exercise of a free will.

Today, fifteen years of recovery from the shattered debris and smoke of war have gone by and cleared almost all of the signs of destruction. The pen has again come to the fore and it is up to the writers, critics, and readers to decide their own fate. Will they be abie to produce greater and richer accounts of the people and the world? Will they succeed in dispelling the criticism that Koreans are mentally and physically incapable of producing great novels like Les Miserables or War and Peace? Will they be able to keep in step with the present-day complexity of philosophy and life brought on by space technology and cosmological science?

(1) The Beginnings of Korean Literature

Early Korean narratives were mostly concerned with the relationship between gods and humans or between sacred animals and humans. The History of the Three Dynasties or The Tales from the Three Dynasties abound with narratives of this nature.

Around 108 B.C., books of Chinese classics arrived in the 'four counties of Han' in the northwestern part of the Korean Peninsula. The Koreans learned not only about Chinese literature but also the technique of using Chinese characters in Korean sentences. "Hyang-ga" or Korean poems were the

result of this technique and were widely known among the knights, women, monks, and government officials during the Silla dynasty.

"Chang-ga" or "Long Verses" developed from "Hyang-ga" during the latter part of the Silla dynasty and, as the name indicates, is an expanded version of "Hyang-ga." One variation of the Long Verses is the so-called "Kyonggi Verse" which has at the end of each verse the rhyme "Kyonggi." This is significant in the development of literature, because the verses began to have the distinct form of a certain number of syllables, such as, 334 334 334, or 333 335 533, etc. From these developed the popular "Shijo" or "Korean Odes." These Korean Odes are regarded as the essence of Korean literature. The majority of the Odes praise the beautiful harmony between mother nature and man; for example:

The yardful of blossoms are last night's storm, and brought
A lass with broom sweeping, lost in thought;
For the fallen petals embrace with glory
Just as much beauty as is amid on the tree.

At the end of the Koryo dynasty, General Lee recited a verse of Shijo of his own composition before Cheong Mong-ju, who pledged loyalty only to the king of Koryo and opposition to General Lee's rebellion. Cheong countered Lee with his extemporaneous ode; as follows:[2]

General Lee:
What difference does it make,
this way or that?
The tangled vines of Mansu San
in profusion grow entwined.
We too could be like that,
and live together a hundred years.

Cheong Mong-ju:
Though this body die and die,
though it dies a hundred times;
Though these bones bleach and pulverize to dust;
whether my soul will be or will not be--
This heart was pledged to my lord:
how could it ever change?

[2]The translation of the exchange is from Time Magazine, October 22, 1965.

As soon as Hangul was promulgated in 1445, the government set up a "Translation Bureau" and launched the huge task of translating the major Chinese classics on history, philosophy, poetry, etc.[3] In addition to this, scholars carried the extra burden of translating the Chinese versions of the voluminous Buddhist Scriptures. Among the first Hangul-written verses was "Yongbiochunga":

龍飛御天歌 (許雄編譯「龍飛御天歌」第一章에서)

海東六龍이 ᄂᆞᄅᆞ샤 일마다 天福이시니 古聖이 同符하시니
불휘 기픈 남ᄀᆞᆫ 브ᄅᆞ매 아니뮐ᄊᆡ 곶됴코 여름하ᄂᆞ니
ᄉᆡ미 기픈 므른 ᄀᆞᄆᆞ래 아니그츨ᄊᆡ 내히 이러 바ᄅᆞ래 가ᄂᆞ니
周國大王이 豳谷애 사ᄅᆞ샤 帝業을 여르시니

Translation:

In our country the six dragons (meaning six kings) have been flying, and all the things they have done are heavenly blessings to the people, comparable to the wonderful rulings of the ancient Chinese emperors. Deeply-rooted trees bear beautiful flowers, plentiful fruits, and are strong against storms; water from the beautiful fountains reaches the ocean even after spells of drought. Just as the great emperors of the Chinese Chu nation demonstrated an admirable administration in the olden days, our beloved kings rule the people gently.

The novels popularized during the Koryo and Lee dynasties were elaborate extensions of the ancient narrative form. The popularization of these novels led to the concordance of the spoken and written styles. One fragmental example from the popular novels published during the Lee dynasty was "The Story of Hong Gil Dong":

許筠作「洪吉童傳」의 大略 (趙潤濟;「國文學史」에서)

洪吉童이 洪政丞의 庶子로 아버지, 兄을 제대로 부르지 못하고 虐待받고 矛盾
社會에 不平을 갖고 飄風然히 집을 떠나 賊窟에 들어가 魁首가 되고

[3]At this time, the establishment of Korean Court Music and its instruments were also among governmental cultural projects.

「活貧党」이라 하야 地方富豪며 貪官汚吏의 財物을 빼앗어 貧民을 救濟했다 八道를 任意出没하야 地方人心을 소란케 하니 政府에서 잡으려고하나 못잡고. 吉童은 其後 部下를 데리고 朝鮮을 떠나 硅島國에 가서 国王이 되어 理想鄕을 建設하였다는 것이다. 吉童이가 呼風喚雨하는 技術을 써서 各邑倉庫의 穀食을 夜間에 갖어갔다던가, 吉童을 잡으러온 將卒을 가죽부대에 넣어서 北嶽山에 달아맸다는 것같은 超現實的手法을 쓴것은 그때에 流行을 말한다.

Translation (abridged):

Hong Gil Dong was born as an illegitimate son of Minister Hong and consequently could not be accepted as a regular member of the family and he was mistreated by society. Unhappy about this and other social injustices, he left home and wandered into a bandits' hide-out. He eventually became a chieftain and called his gang "the party for rescuing the poor." His men robbed the local rich and corrupt officials and with the money helped the poor. He roamed about the country harassing government officials who finally put up 'wanted' posters throughout the country. But he just could not be apprehended.

Gil Dong is said to have fled the country with his troops, and to have reached an island called 'Jin Do' where he crowned himself king and built a utopian nation. Gil Dong, like all other legendary heroes, was poised as a superhuman who could whirl the wind, make rain, and carry warehouse-loads of grain single-handedly. They say he punished officials by hanging them from the treetops on Puk Ack Mountain.

Also enjoyed by millions of Koreans was a renovated Shijo characterized by the praising of the beauties of Mother Nature. Some beautiful examples follow:

桃花杏花는 夕陽裏에 피어있고 綠陰芳草는 細雨中에
푸르도다. 칼로 말아낸가 붓으로 그려낸가
造化神功이 物々마다 헌사롭다 -丁克仁 作

The plums and peaches in the setting sun blossom; and
The green leaves and red flowers in the mist glisten.
The sword and pen of the Creator mold
The colors and form of Nature.

by Jeong Guk In

山頭에 閒雲이 起하고 水中에 白鷗이 飛이라
無心코 無情하니 이 두거시로다
一生에 시름을 잊고 너를 조차 노로리다 -李賢輔 作

The roaming clouds over the mountain,
The dancing cranes in the fountain
Come freely and go freely; and
I am free to their free minds, to attain

by Lee Hyeon Bo

青山은 엇제하여 万古에 프르르며
流水는 엇제하여 晝夜에 긋지안는고
우리도 긋지지마라 万古常青하리라 - 李退溪作

The green cloak is never taken off the mountain; and
The dancing of merry streams is not restrained.
Why should not I always wear green and dance merrily?

by Lee Toe Gye

(2) The Refinement of Chinese Classics

During the early part of the Lee dynasty, as the tide of Western civilization reached the western shores of the Korean Peninsula, Confucianism began to branch off into several sects as follows:

Traditionalism: a conglomeration of all facets of philosophical, social, political, and ethical thoughts;

"To-hak" or Taoism: an attempt to explore the true nature of the universe through a clear mind;[4]

Pragmatism: a determination to emphasize the value of science.[5]

In 1783 Catholicism was introduced, and with it came books of modern science such as astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, and artillery. Telescopes, clocks, Western rifles, geographical globes, and organs (musical) were also introduced. This influx of Western wares and ideas brought to the Korean minds an entirely new world. Vague ideas and notions were no longer catchwords and attractions to them,

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[4]Cheong Mong-ju and Lee Toege were prominent Taoist scholars.

[5]This school of thought was led by Yu Song-Won and Kim Cheong-Ho. Kim Cheong-Ho printed the first Korean map of the peninsula.

and the people's imprisonment by the medieval code of ethics was terminated. As people rushed out to the streets with a new and free frame of mind, there came the unrestricted publication of love stories, new family novels, monster novels, etc. One of the most famous literary products of this period is "The Story of Chun-Hyang Jon," said to be one of the world's four great love stories, the others being Romeo and Juliet, Manon Lescaut, and Anna Karenina.

Brief translation of the Story of Chun-Hyang Jon:[6]

On a sparkling spring morning, young Lord Mongyong was strolling with his servant (Bangja) through the beautiful countryside of Namwon in Cholla Province. He came to a pavilion on a hilltop from which he enjoyed the panoramic beauty of the land. In the middle of the dreamy scenic panorama, he saw the loveliest of maidens gracefully swinging on a swing. Mongyong found Chun-Hyang.

Hopelessly captivated by the feminine charm of Chun-Hyang, Mongyong sent his servant to escort her to him. Mongyong was little aware that his suit could not easily be complied with. His servant returned to him alone, because Chun-Hyang, the daughter of a Kisaeng, knew only too well that feudal system would not allow her marriage to the noble lineage to which Mongyong belonged. She declined the proposal.

That evening Mongyong visited Chun-Hyang's home and appealed to her, pointing out that true love would overcome all barriers. Because the depth and strength of a great love can never be denied, he finally won the heart of Chun-Hyang and the consent of her mother. The lovers pledged their undying devotion and pledged sacred wedding vows.

But their ecstatic bliss was short-lived. Mongyong was suddenly called back by his father to proceed at once to the capital for his state examinations. He could only pledge his eternal love, giving her a mirror as a token; Chun-Hyang, in turn, gave him her ring.

When Mongyong was gone, Namwon Province received a new and ruthless magistrate. He, too, saw the beauty of Chun-Hyang. He forced her to appear before him, and when she steadfastly refused his unworthy advances, had her thrown into a dungeon. The magistrate's greed was not limited to beautiful girls. Complaints and dissatisfaction with his misadministration were widespread.

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[6]From Hyongtae Kim: "Folklore and Customs of Korea," Defense Language Institute text.

In the meantime, Mongyong had passed his examinations so brilliantly that he was allowed to choose as his own post the Commissioner's job for the district of Namwon, with full authority over all local magistrates. However, when he arrived in Namwon with his powerful squad of plainclothes marshalls, he disguised himself as a beggar and went first to see Chun-Hyang in her dungeon. He told her that he had failed the state examination and had come to see her. Chun-Hyang's mother was furious and tried to chase him out, but Chun-Hyang, much weakened by repeated tortures and prolonged sadness, embraced Mongyong and told him how happy she was just to see him, no matter how miserable he looked. She did not blame him at all. Mongyong bid her good-by, telling her he would come to see her again.

From the dungeon, Mongyong went to the Magistrate's office where, in the midst of a brawling birthday celebration for the ruthless magistrate, the magistrate himself and the local officials were feasting. When Mongyong appeared in shaggy clothes and begged for a plate of food, people laughed at him, and the magistrate ordered his men to throw him out. Then Mongyong presented his credentials and denounced the lustful official, who fled for his life.

Out of the dark dungeon came Chun-Hyang, pitifully weakened and emaciated. She was brought to the palace of the noble Lord Commissioner. Remembering her humble birth and her present condition, she hardly dared raise her eyes to the high place of authority, where Mongyong sat in glorious attire. But what she saw was Mongyong coming down to her from the height. On his hand was the ring she had given him, and in his eyes the eternal love she would always return.

Their tears of happiness were to move the hearts of Korean readers down through the centuries.

The Story of Chun-Hyang differs from the three other great love stories in one respect: the love between Chun-Hyang and Mongyong overcame the difference of social status, whereas Romeo and Juliet loved in spite of family hostilities; and in the story of Manon Lescaut, the hero ruins his life because of the depravity of the heroine; in Anna Karenina, the hero returns to Anna with repentant love after his careless betrayal of Anna's love for him. The lovers, heroes and heroines, had to overcome all kinds of adversities and obstacles, and regardless of the backgrounds of people, culture, history, or literary technique employed to

tell the story, the spirit of love and the value of love is unchanged from the dawn of human history to the space age--the most profound reason for humans to exist.

The original Story of Chun-Hyang was written as a song. For unknown reasons, novels or dramas have not been developed in Korea. However, there have been some short dramatic pieces created for masked dramas and operas.

(3) The Western Tide Begins

With the advent of Catholicism and Western philosophy in Korea, the strong Eastern tradition gradually waned. After the Sino - and Russo-Japanese Wars, there mushroomed the so-called "Tong-hak movement" which tried to consolidate the three schools of East--Buddhism, Confucianism, and refined Shamanism--against Western teachings. However, we can read in various books of the time that the Western tide that came in with the laying of railroad tracks, mining, forestry, criss-crossing of electric wires in the cities, and building of many Christian schools, could not be resisted by many Koreans at that time.

Freedom, equality, and the dignity of all people were the bywords of politics, education, and literature. The distribution of publications among all people--especially "Aesop's Fables," "The Iron World," and numerous other translated works of fiction were fascinating to late 19th century Koreans. The style and content of the Descriptive School are exemplified as follows:

A paragraph from "The Voice of a Ghost"

吉川夏이는 배안에서 끔지락거리는 아이를 어루만지 면서 悲觀에 잠기어 울고 있다. 이 吉川夏이는 姜同志의 외 딸로 春川郡守로 와 있던 金承知의 妾이 되었더니 金承知의 本妻가 시앗보았다는 消息을 알자 要路에 請하야 金承知를 罷免시켜 서울로 불러올리매 吉川夏은 그냥 故鄉에 떠러지지 남아 혼자 속을 태우고 있다. -「鬼의 声」의 一節
(趙潤濟:「國文學史」第九章에서)

Translation:

Gil Sun was depressed and crying, caressing her agile unborn baby over her abdomen. Gil Sun was the only daughter of Kang, a commoner, and had become the mistress of "Yangban" Kim, magistrate of the Chunchun district. As soon as Kim's wife heard about this affair, she presuaded some of the higher officials in Seoul to fire Kim from the county office and bring him back to Seoul. Left all alone in Chunchun, Gil Sun had to suffer her agony by herself.

Two verses from "to the Sea, to the Youth" by Choe Nam Seon

「海에게서 少年에게」 - 崔南善作 (6節中에서 2節만 紹介함)

처……ㄹ썩, 처……ㄹ썩. 척 쏴……아.
따린다, 부순다. 무너바린다。
泰山갈은 높은 뫼, 집채갈은 바윗돌이나,
요것이 무어야, 요게 무어야.
나의 큰힘 아냐 모르냐냐, 호통까지 하면서,
따린다, 부순다, 무너바린다。
처……ㄹ썩, 처……ㄹ썩, 척, 투르릉, 꽉。

Translation:

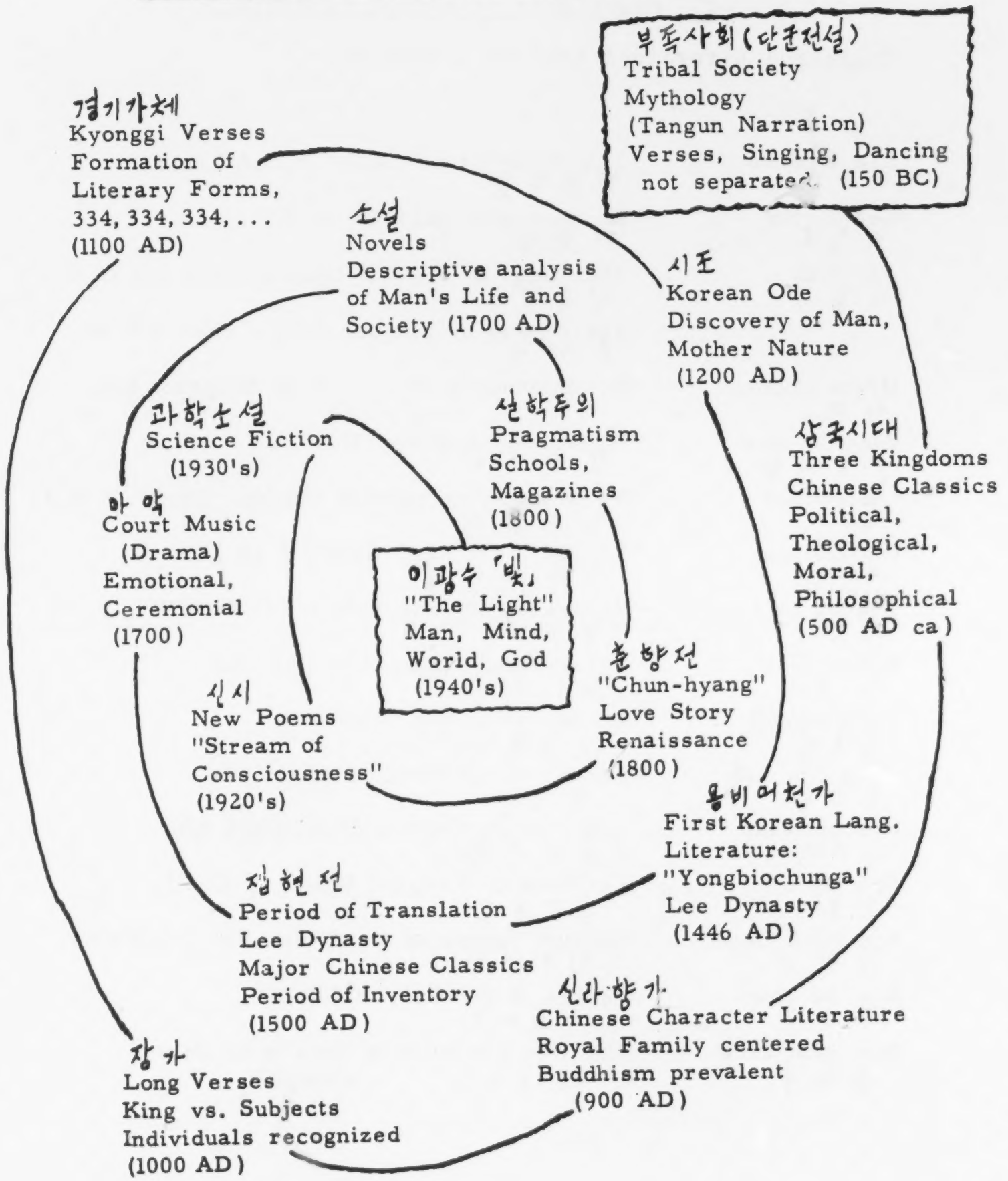
Splash, splash, splash ... hiss!
Hitting, smashing, demolishing,
Gigantic as the Rockies, towering like skyscrapers,
The Ocean shouts, "I can destroy anything,
I am almighty!" ... and then
Hitting, smashing, demolishing,
Splash, splash, splash.

Splash, splash, splash ... hiss!
"Nothing is fearful to me; the strong man
On the land will be subdued; and
The strength of man is but a toy against my power";
Splash, splash, splash, roar, boom!

(4) A Brief Look at Contemporary Literary Schools

In conclusion a few brief notes are offered on the contemporary literary schools: romanticism, naturalism, idealism, decadence, and existentialism. Romanticism is a liberal movement developed in opposition to classic literary works which were popular in Korea during the latter part of the 19th century, when Western civilization began to reach the country. Naturalism should properly be called Nature in its true color. It produced very gloomy novels, overly concerned with sex, hunger, and other basic human drives. This current also began to appear in the Korean literary world during the latter part of the Lee dynasty. Idealism in literature existed from the days of mythology. It depicts human affairs in an idealistic way and sometimes glorifies humanity to the extent that humans join the ranks of divine beings. Decadence delights in exposing the beauty of decay--decay of life and matter. This movement does not seem to have attained wide popularity in Korea. Existentialism started out as a religious movement, but later it began to describe the deep agony of man uninhibited by conventional mores as he searches for his true nature. The post-war products of Korean writing show strong traces of existentialism.

(5) The Vorticose Pattern of Korean Literature



(6) Highlights of Korean Literature

Classical Literature (600 AD - 1900 AD)

Lee Kyu Bo 이 규 보	"The White Cloud Tales" (600 AD ca.) 백 운 소 설
Lee In No 이 인 로	"Enchantment" (600 AD ca.) 파 한 집
An Chuk 안 축	"The Kangwon Poems" (poems) (1000 AD ca.) 관 동 별 곡
	"The Poems of Bamboo Gorge" (1000 AD ca.) 죽 계 시
Ilyeon (monk) 일 연	"Reminiscences of the Three Kingdom Era" (1250 AD ca.)
King 'Sejong' 세 종 대 왕	"Ballad of the Kings" (1445 AD) 삼 국 류 사
Collections 집 서	"Introduction to Musical Studies" (1450 AD ca.) 악 학 규 범
Collections 집 서	"Verses for Songs" (1450 AD ca.) 악 장 가 사
Cheong Do Jeon 정 도 전	"Verses of the Nap Family" (1450 AD) 납 씨 가
Kweon Geun 권 근	"Verses of the Pavilion" (1450 AD) 상 대 별 곡
Cheong Keuk In 정 극 인	"Verses of Spring" (1450 AD) 상 춘 곡
Hong Sun Hak 홍 선 학	"Verses of the Swallow" (1450 AD) 연 행 가
Kim Shi Seup 김 시 습	"Tales of the Golden Fish" (1460 AD) 금 어 신 화
Heo Gyun 허 균	"The Life of Hong Gil Dong" (1600 AD) 홍 길 동 전
Kim Jeon Taek 김 천 택	"Eternal Verses of the Green Hills" (1700 AD) 청 구 영 언
Kim Su Jang 김 수 장	"Verses of the East" (1700 AD) 해 동 가 요
Kim Man Jung 김 만 중	"The War Chronicle of 'Sa's in the South" 사 씨 남 정 기 (1700 AD)

Unknown 미상	"The Story of Chunhyang" 춘향전
Unknown 미상	"The Story of Shimcheong" 심청전
Unknown 미상	"The Story of Heungbu" 흥부전

Modern Literature (1909 - 1944 AD)

Lee In Jick 이인직	"Tears of Blood" (1910), 피눈물
	"The Chiak Mountain" (1910), 지악산
	"The Voice of a Ghost" (1910), 귀의성
	"The Silvery World" (1910), 은세계
	"Plum in the Snow" (1910) 설중매
Lee Hae Jo 이해조	"Snow on the Beard" (1910) 빈상설
Lee Kwang Su 이광수	"To Young Friends" (1914), 어린 벗에게
	"The Miserable World" (1914) 비참한 세상
Kim Dong In 김동인	"The Sorrow of the Weak" (1919), 약한자의 슬픔
	"Oh, the Weak-Hearted" (1919) 마음이 열린 자여
Cheon Yeong Taek 전영택	"A Genius or an Idiot?" (1919), 천치? 천재?
	"The Fortune" (1919) 운수
Chu Yo Han 주요한	"The Bonfire" (Poem) (1920) 불화
Whang Seok Wu 황석우	"The Ruins" (Poem) (1920), 폐허

Whang Seok Wu 황 석 우	"The Guide of Love" (Poem) (1920), 사랑의 지도자
	"The Dance of Agony" (Poem) (1920) 번뇌의 무도
Yeom Sang Seop 염 상 섭	"The Green Frog in the Display-room" (1920) 표본실의 청개고리
Hyeon Jin Keun 현 진 건	"The Sacrifice Flower" (1920) 희 생 화
Kim Dong In 김 동 인	"Potatoes" (1925) 감 자
Hong No Jack 홍 로 작	"Spring is Gone" (1930) 봄은 가더이다
Lee Sang Wha 이 상 화	"To My Bedroom" (1930) 나의 침실로
Na Do Hyang 나 도 향	"The Young People's Season" (1930) 젊은이의 시절
Chyo Po Sik 조 포 식	"The Nakdong River" (1930) 낙 동 강
Park Yeong Hi 박 영 희	"The Hunting Dog" (1930) 산 양 개
Yu Chin Oh 유 진 오	"The Lecturer Kim and Professor T" (1933) 김강사와 T교수
Lee Hyo Seok 이 효 석	"The Rose is Fading" (1935) 장미 병들다

Literature Today (1945 -)

Park Yeong Chun 박 영 준	"The Guerrillas" (1955) 빨 치 산
Whang Sun Weon 황 순 원	"The Descendance of Cain" (1955) 카 인 의 후 예
Kim Seong Han 김 성 한	"Five Minutes" (1960's) 오 분 간
Chang Yeong Hak 장 영 학	"Man's Finale" (1960's), 인간의 종연
	"The Wilderness" (1960's) 황 야

Oh Sang Weon 오 상 원	"Training for Death" (1960's) 죽음에의 훈련
Seon Wu Hi 선우 희	"The Flames" (1960's) 불꽃
Mo Yun Suk 모 윤 숙	"The Stormy Waves" (Poems) (1960's) 풍랑
Lee Sang No 이 상 노	"Collection of Lee Sang No Poems" (1960's) 이 상로 시집
Park In Whan 박 인 환	"Morning Comes After the Night" (1960's) 밤이 가면 아침이 온다
Ryu Chi Jin 유 치 진	"The Sisters" (Drama) (1960's) 자매
Lee Mu Yeong 이 무 영	"The Octagonal Pavilion" (Drama) (1960's) 팔 각 정

b. Music

(1) Traditional Music

The ancient music of Korea was closely connected with religious rites. In Buyo (부여) and Ye (예) there were ceremonies in October and December during which people gathered from all parts of the country to drink, sing, and dance for days as part of their worship of heaven.

In the Sam Han era (삼한 ?-c. 100 B.C.), a Korean stringed instrument was used, and the folk music was originated.

In the Sam Kuk era (삼국 c. 300 A.D.-660 A.D.), Koguryo (고구려), having had more frequent contacts with China, adopted Chinese instruments. As her own instrument, she invented the Komungo, a long six-stringed zither. Paekje (백제 c. 100 B.C.-660 A.D.) introduced the mask play with music and dance. Silla (신라 c. 100 B.C.-935 A.D.) had komungo, kayago, pipa, and flutes. After the unification of Korea (c. 660 A.D.), the government formed a music institution called Eum-song-so (음성서) to furnish music for court functions and also for the newly adopted Buddhist rites.

During the Koryo era (918 A.D.-1392 A.D.), in the ninth year of the reign of King Yejong (1106-1122), a-ak (아악), an ancient Chinese music, was introduced (Sung Dynasty - 960 A.D.-1279 A.D.-). A-ak was used in ritual ceremonies before the altars of heavenly gods, at royal household shrines, Confucian shrines, and also for court ceremonies.

In the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), the office of a-ak or a-ak-so, and the office of Tang-music (당악) or Jonakso (전악서) were established and King Sejong (세종) published Akhakkwebom (악학궤범), a model book for music, which described the tone system, the instruments, and the dance on music. This book remains the authority on Korean traditional music.

The Tone Systems, Rhythm and Form

Korean music is mostly pentatonic (five-tone scale) employing basically two modes: (1) Pyong-jo (sol la do re mi) -- expressing soft and serene feelings, and (2) Kyemyon-jo (la do re mi sol) -- full of pathos and mournful in mood.

Traditional Korean music has no harmonic system (although the saeng-hwang 〔생황〕 produces parallel fourths). Several types of heterophony can be found. There is a drone in certain musical pieces, and a kind of duet of simultaneous, independent melodies with an apparently random relationship.

There are several concepts of <u>rhythm</u> in the music played in Korea. Chinese music, such as tang-ak (당악), has one note to each syllable of the text. These notes are of equal duration but the last note of a phrase may be lengthened. Korean classical styles, on the other hand, are based on unequal duration of syllables. The rhythmic pattern of folksongs is usually in triple meter. When a drum accompanies a song, only the first beat of the first measure, the third beat of the third measure, and the first beat of the fourth measure are distinctly given, while the others are suppressed or counted.

Korean <u>musical form</u> has a close association with text. Instrumental music was originally used only as an accompaniment for songs, but later the text was dropped and thus pure instrumental music developed.

Korean music might be said to be strophic or consisting of many stanzas, but, when the strophe is repeated, the opening phrase is often varied. This gives somewhat the impression of a rondo.[1]

<u>The Instruments</u>

Komungo (거문고): A long six-stringed zither, developed during the Koguryo Dynasty. It is plucked with a small stick held in the right hand.

Kayagum (가야금) : A long twelve-stringed zither with movable bridges. The strings are plucked with bare fingers.

Pyonjong (편종): These bronze bell chimes were introduced to Korea during the Koryo Dynasty from China.

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[1]Rondo -- a composition or movement having its principal theme stated three or more times in the same key, interposed with subordinate themes.

Janggo (장고): This percussion instrument was introduced to Korea from China during the Koryo Dynasty. It is made of paulownia wood covered with hides of cows or horses, and played with a rod and the fingers.

Chwago (좌고): This percussion instrument was originated during the Sam Han era, about 2100 years ago.

Hyang Piri (vertical) and Sae Piri (horizontal): These are reed instruments invented during the Koryo Dynasty.

Daegum (대금): This is a bamboo flute.

Haegum (해금): This is a treble instrument played with a bow.

Tanjok (단적): This flute is 40 cm long, is made of old bamboo, and has six holes.

Kugak (cf. Chart)

Kugak (국악) includes all the types of music, regardless of origin, which have been handed down to Koreans before the introduction of Western music from Europe and America. Kugak is divided chiefly into two categories: 1. A-ak, or the elegant music, and 2. Sogak, or the popular music.

1. A-ak is further subdivided into (a) Jeryeak, (b) Yonryeak, (c) Kunak.

a. Jeryeak (제례악), or the ritual music is again divided into three categories: (cf. chart). (1) Munmyoak, (2) Jongmyoak, (3) Kyongmogungjeak.

(1) Munmyoak (문묘악): The Munmyo are Confucian shrines where Confucius and his distinguished disciples are enshrined along with some great Korean Confucian scholars. Munmyoak is of Chinese origin and is performed in ceremonies at the Confucian shrines.

(2) Jongmyoak (종묘악): The ritual ceremonies at the shrines of the royal household,where the royal ancestors were worshiped,were accompanied by music and dances.

(3) Kyongmogungjeak (경모궁제악): It is a ceremonial music played at the shrine of King Jangjo.

b. Yonryeak (연례악): Yonryeak or banquet music was used at the court on such occasions as the celebration of New Year's Day, the evening of the winter solstice, the birthdays of the king, the queen, the crown prince, the reception of foreign emissaries, the tour of the monarch, etc.

c. Kunak (군악): The military bands, which existed before the introduction of Western band music, were placed at the five military units within the capital city. Each unit had two bands, one being composed entirely of percussion instruments, the other of percussion instruments and pipes. The bands numbered thirteen to fifteen members. There were also palace bands composed of thirty-six members.

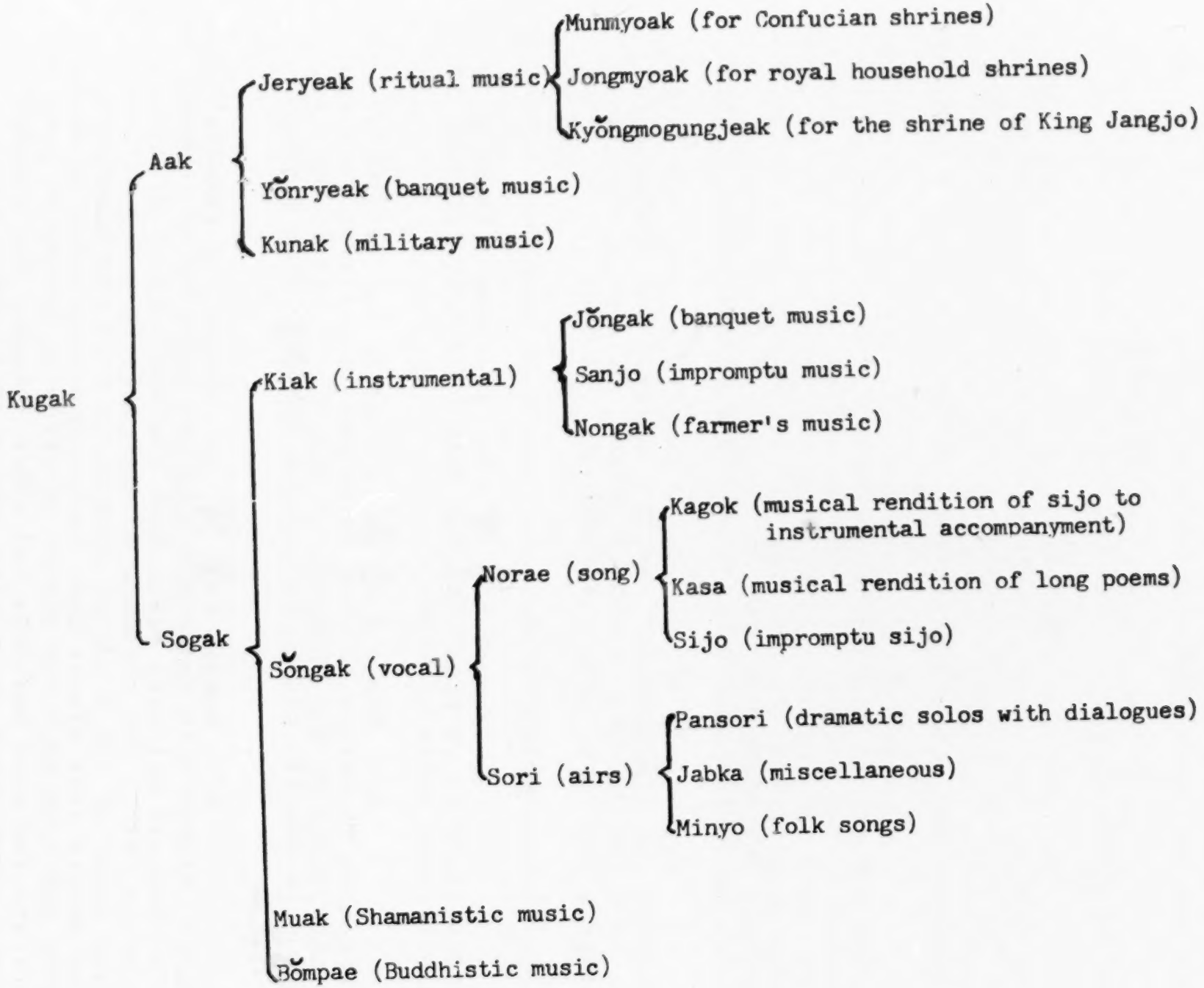
2. Sogak (속악): Sogak is divided into two categories: a. instrumental and b. vocal. The instrumental, in turn, is divided into: (1) Jongak, (2) Sanjo, and (3) Nongak, the vocal into (1) Norae and (2) Sori.

a. Instrumental

(1) Jongak (정악): The term literally means standard or right and has been used only recently to distinguish parts of a-ak.

(2) Sanjo (산조): Sanjo was originally impromptu in nature but was developed into its present refined status by Kim Chang-jo at the end of the Yi Dynasty. Sanjo is usually played by kayagum (가야금) or komungo (거문고).

(3) Nongak (농악): Nongak, or farmers' music, blends with dance and song and has much in common with the old military music with its emphasis on drums, cymbals, etc. The costumes of the performers are derived from those of the soldiers as well as from the Buddhists. The people have always been devout and respectful to their gods and have kept the custom of offering thanks to gods or spirits for good harvests and other things. The farmers' music accompanied ceremonies dedicated to their gods.



UNESCO Korean Survey, p.404.

b. Vocal

(1) Norae--song.

1. Kagok (가곡): This form was probably established in the last part of the Koryo Dynasty. It is composed of five verses.

2. Sijo (시조): Sijo is a Korean poem form of three verses. It is said to have been sung for the first time by Yi Sechun, a musician who lived during the reign of King Yonjo of the Yi Dynasty. This is one of the most widely popularized of all Norae forms.

3. Kasa (가사): This form flourished for some time after the middle of the Yi Dynasty, and was sung by scholars and gentlemen of leisure.

(2) Sori--airs.

1. Pansori (판소리): This form appeared some time in the middle of the Yi Dynasty. It was sung in solo accompanied by a drum, and tells a very dramatic story.

2. Jabka (잡가): Sung by the lowest classes of society, Jabka is rich in witty remarks and satire.

3. Minyo (민요): There are many beautiful folk songs which have been handed down. They are mostly frank, simple, sentimental tunes. They are all triple time. The most popular of all is "Arirang."

(2) Western Music

Western music was first introduced into Korea about seventy years ago by the Christian missionaries Dr. Underwood and Dr. Appenzeller who taught hymns in connection with their missionary work. Western instrumental music was first introduced in 1898 with the establishment of the Yi Royal Military Band, which gave a public performance two years later.

During the 1920's and 1930's many musicians appeared on the music scene graduating from music schools both in and out of Korea. For those in Korea, Ewha Women's College and Chosun Christian College were the centers of musical activity.

Since the Liberation of Korea in 1945 musical activity has made its greatest progress. The present institutions of higher musical education in Korea are: Seoul University College of Music, Ewha Women's University College of Music, Sukmyong Women's University Department of Music, and Yonsei University Department of Religious Music.

During this same period, the Seoul City Symphony Orchestra and the KBS Symphony Orchestra have been presenting concert series. The Symphony Orchestras of the Armed Forces are also quite active.

In the field of opera not only Western operas were performed but also Korean folk operas were introduced.

The popular songs widely sung among Koreans today fall into two categories: those originated in Korea and those reflecting foreign influence.

II. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF NORTH KOREA

(1) The Geography of North Korea

The Korean peninsula protrudes southward from Eastern Siberia and Manchuria. The southern tip of the peninsula is about 120 miles from the principal island of Japan. On the north it is separated from the Soviet Union by the Tuman River, and from China (Manchuria) by the Yalu River. Both rivers originate from the Paektu Mountain, which is 9,000 feet high. The Tuman River flows eastward into the East Sea (former Sea of Japan), and the Yalu River westward into the West Sea (Yellow Sea). The East Sea and the Korea Strait separate Korea from Japan, and the West Sea lies between Korea and Communist China.

Approximately 600 miles long and 120 to 130 miles wide, the peninsula has an area of 85,000 square miles, which is about the size of the State of Utah. The area of North Korea is about 47,000 square miles, which is about 55% of the total area of the peninsula.

The population of Korea as of mid-1964 was unofficially estimated at approximately 38.9 million. Of this figure, about 27.3 million, which is about 70% of the total population, were believed to be in the South, and only about 11.6 million were in the North. The percentile distribution of the North Korean population is as follows:

Pyongan-pukto	14.0%
Pyongan-namdo	17.0
Hwanghae-pukto	8.0
Hwanghae-namdo	11.0
Kangwon-do	8.0
Hamgyong-pukto	11.0
Hamgyong-namdo	14.0
Yanggang-do	3.0
Chagang-do	6.0
Pyongyang city	7.0
Kaesong city	1.0
	100.0%[1]

[1]Department of the Army, U.S. Army Area Handbook for Korea, p. 49.

Topography

North Korea is far more mountainous and less arable than South Korea. The mountain mass slopes northeast to southwest, giving way to broad plains along the West Sea (Yellow Sea) and on the southern edge of the peninsula. Korea has many rivers, but few are important to navigation. In North Korea rivers are generally winding with swift currents, making them useful as sources of hydro-electric power. The Yalu, Taedong, and Chongchun rivers are the most important in North Korea, and provide considerable expansion of fertile plains along their lower streams.

Climate

Cold, dry winters with long periods of clear skies, and hot, humid summers are characteristic of Korea's climate. Temperature varies widely between summer and winter, and there is great regional diversity. In the mountainous northern interior the winters are bitterly cold, but along the southern coast average monthly temperatures are above freezing. Summers are generally hot and humid and show less regional variation than in winters. Most of the rainfall occurs during the summer months throughout the country, but the amount varies from less than 25 inches a year in the upper Yalu River basin to 60 inches in the south.

Natural Resources

Among the economically significant varieties of minerals and ores deposited throughout the Korean peninsula are anthracite and lignite coal, iron ore, copper, graphite, tungsten, magnesite, fluorite, molybdenum, mica, gold, and silver.

High grade anthracite coal is found in both North and South Korea. In the northeastern part of Korea, there is a substantial deposit of low-grade bituminous coal, termed more correctly lignite or brown coal, which provides raw material for coal liquefaction plants at Agoji, Hamgyongpukto province. Major anthracite coal fields are scattered in the vicinity of Pyongyang. The production of anthracite in North Korea in 1946 was reported to be 830,000 metric tons, which was about 80% of the total anthracite production in Korea as a whole.

Of all the iron ore deposits in Korea, more than 95% of them are in North Korea. The largest iron deposit is at Munsan, Hamgyong-pukto province; the reserves are estimated to amount to 1,200,000,000 tons.

Korean Iron Ore Production, 1944[2]

Deposit	Metric Tons	Percent
Northern Korea		
Munsan	1,050,689	31.5
Hasong	568,419	17.1
Kaechon	473,253	14.2
Yangyong	289,513	8.7
Iwon	276,963	8.3
Chaeryong	216,195	6.5
Others north of the 38th Parallel	346,035	10.4
Southern Korea		
Total of all provinces	110,757	3.3
Grand Total	3,331,814	100.0

The gold deposits of Korea are scattered in almost every county, but the major gold mines, such as Unsan and Pukchin mines, are in North Korea near Pyongyang. About 70% of Korea's gold production is from North Korea. Other important minerals like tungsten, graphite, copper, etc., are fairly evenly distributed in North and South Korea.

Because of its humid continental climate, Korea has conditions favorable to the growth of extensive forests. Three-fourths of the total area of the peninsula is classified as forest land. However, in 1940, of this forest land only seventy percent was classified as standing trees. In recent years this ratio of non-forested land to forest land has increased. Three factors have done much to this aspect of the geography of Korea. The first is man, who, in his

[2]Shannon McCune, Korea's Heritage, p. 221.

need for fuel, building material, and arable land, has destroyed much of the forests. The second is an insect, the pine bug, which has wrought havoc on the pine forests. The third is forest fire which has gotten out of control. Today the only true natural forests are in the far north and on the higher mountains or around a few temples. Many of the forested areas are really second growth stands, some areas having been carefully reforested, sometimes with imported species of trees. Though a complete and detailed study of the natural vegetation is not possible, certain general plant associations can be noted. For example, in the cold north are extensive areas of larch and spruce; in the central parts of Korea are oaks and elders, along with some conifers; in the warmer south are scattered patches of generally deciduous plants.

Generally,mountainous North Korea has great potential sources of hydroelectric power. A total of hydroelectric power developed or partially planned throughout Korea by the Japanese before 1945 amounted to 5,863,720 KW. Of this, 85.8 percent was in North Korea. The largest completed power plant is at Supung on the Yalu River, and it is roughly equivalent to the Boulder Dam in the United States. This plant has a generating capacity of 600,000 KW, which is sufficient to provide power to southern Manchuria and North Korea. Along the Yalu and its tributaries, a series of seven hydroelectric projects has been developed. One of them, the Kangge project, is reported to have a capacity of 340,000 KW. In northeastern Korea, some of the northward-flowing tributaries of the Yalu were dammed, forming large reservoirs; the water from these reservoirs is then taken by conduits over the drainage divide and down the escarpment to the lowlands along the East Sea. Here the hydro electric power stations were developed, usually in series. Three such systems, each with four stations, were developed on the Changjin (326,500 KW), the Hochun (309,800 KW) and the Puchon Rivers (200,375 KW).[3]

(2) The Structure of the Government

The Constitution

The North Korean Constitution delineates the official governmental forms through which the Communist leaders exercise their power, and it is used to prevent the free interplay of competing political forces except within the Korean

[3]Ibid., p. 223.

Workers Party. While the Constitution presents a facade of democracy, it is interpreted to permit Party control over the entire governmental structure and the electoral process.[4]

The present constitution is made up of 104 articles which are arranged into 10 chapters (basic principles; rights and duties of the citizens; the highest organ of state power; state budget; the Cabinet; local power organs; courts and procurators office; national defense; state emblem, national flag and national capital;and amendment procedure). The Basic Principles specifically state that sovereign power emanates from the people who are to exercise it through the "organs of state power" or legislative bodies. All productive means, economic organs, and natural resources are nationalized.

The Constitution contains an impressive number of provisions purporting to guarantee the citizens of equal rights before the law, regardless of sex, race, religion, technical or productive abilities, or degree of literacy. Freedom of faith, speech, press and assembly, and the right to elect public officials, as well as the right to be elected to public office, are enunciated. In addition, freedom of scientific and artistic pursuits, copyright and patent rights, as well as the rights to employment, rest, leisure, social insurance, free education, and pay to equal work, are guaranteed by the state. The privacy of correspondence is to be protected by law.[5]

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a Communist dictatorship. Legislative power is theoretically vested in the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly, but in practice, this 215-member body automatically approves the decisions of the Presidium.

The Presidium, formally named by the Assembly, consists of a chairman, Vice-chairman, and Secretary General. The Assembly also elects a Cabinet that administers the government. Communists control all agencies of government, and all officers in the armed forces are members of the party. In 1961, the party claimed a membership of 1,311,567. Premier Kim Il Sung is also Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

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[4]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 220.

[5]Ibid., p. 221.

The Central Government

The formal structure of the North Korean Government consists of executive, legislative, and judicial branches. This arrangement is, however, not premised on the principle of the separation of powers as the phrase is understood in Western nations.

In a society where the authority of state emanates theoretically from the working class and which is sanctioned by the regime as the only legitimate political group, the conflicting claims or powers of competing classes or groups as such cannot exist. Accordingly, power does not need to be divided, since the possibility of dominance by one class over the other has ceased to exist.

Legislative Branch

The legislative authority of the regime is exercised by the Supreme People's Assembly which is, in theory, the highest state organ and source of power. Its 383 members are elected every four (4) years by the people "through universal, equal, and direct suffrage and by secret ballot" at the ratio of 1 for every 10,000 persons.[6] According to the Constitution, the Supreme People's Assembly exercises its legislative authority through a hierarchy of local people's assemblies.

The Executive Branch

Executive power is wielded by the Cabinet, which is organized by and is responsible to the Supreme People's Assembly. The number of Cabinet members has varied. In September, 1964, it included a premier, 9 vice-premiers, 21 ministers, 8 chairmen of special commissions, and 7 others holding miscellaneous posts. The premier was the head of the government, a position held since 1948 by Kim Il-Sung, who was also the head of the Korean Workers Party.

The Constitution provides for local governmental organs whose authority is to be exercised by local people's assemblies (인민회의). Delegates to the provincial assemblies are popularly elected by secret ballot for a term of four years at the ratio of 1 to every 5,000 persons.

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[6]Department of State, North Korea: A Case Study in the Techniques of Takeover, U.S. Printing Office, Washington D.C. 1961.

The Court Systems

The three-tiered court system is composed of the Supreme Court at its apex, provincial courts in the middle, and the people's courts, at the bottom, which are set up at city (시), county (군), or district (구) levels.

(3) Party Politics

The dominant political force in North Korea has been the Communists, operating under the banner of the Korean Workers Party. Other political, social, and religious organizations have been tolerated only to give the appearance of a multi-party system and a democratic facade. These miscellaneous groups are used by the regime to promote its programs among those sections of the population to which the organizations can most effectively appeal.

Before and after its formal founding in September 1948, the keenest concern of the regime has been to establish the unchallengeable supremacy of the ruling Communist group led by Kim Il-sung. With equal vigor, the regime has also relentlessly pursued the goal of building a self-supporting economic base. By mid-1964 the Kim Il-sung leadership was able to claim the attainment of both goals through totalitarian manipulation of both human and material resources. The Communist leadership has also launched, increasingly since 1960, an aggressive propaganda campaign against the South on the contention that the trials and deprivations of the South Korean people could be solved only through unification entirely on the North's own terms. The apparent policy of the regime has been to advocate the principle of peaceful unification, but to constantly and fully prepare to carry out the direct unification through military means if necessary.

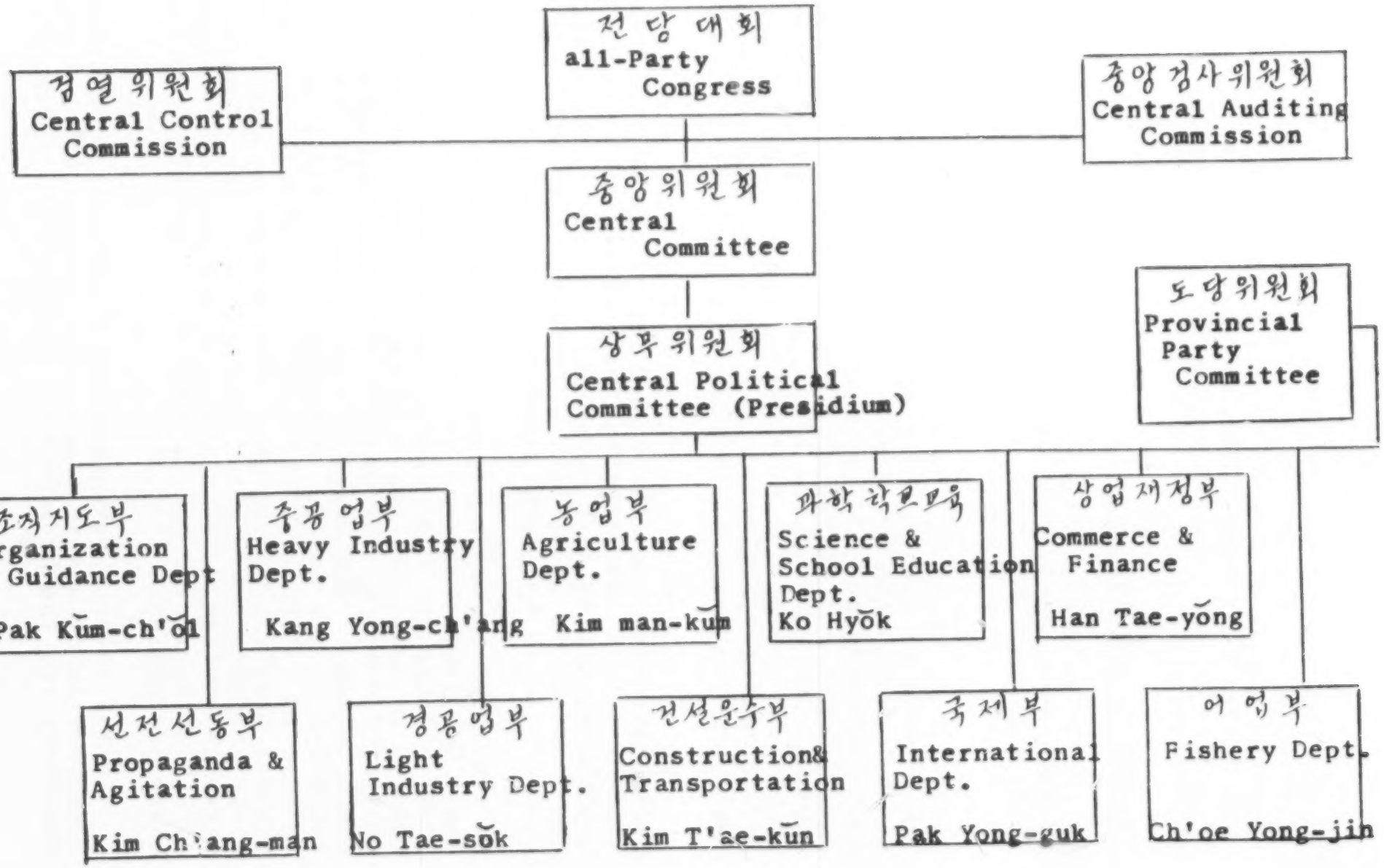
In 1964 the regime came to realize that its aspiration to unify the country on its own initiative, hopefully with military and economic assistance from Moscow, was not supported by the Soviet Union, which appeared to be shying away from the prospect of any military confrontation with the United States in Korea or elsewhere. This may have prompted North Korea to side with Communist China in its condemnation of the Russian leaders' "machinations" with the United States, "imperialists and other reactionary and revisionist forces." Following the lead of Peking, the regime also has been outspoken in its allegation that the

North Korea
KWP Political Committee
(Presidium)

Name	Portfolio	Faction
Kim Il-sŏng	Premier, DPRK Chairman, KWP Central Committee Member, Political Committee	Kapsan
Ch'oe Yong-gŏn	Chairman, Supreme People's Assembly Vice Chairman, KWP Central Committee	Kapsan
Kim Il	First Vice Premier, DPRK Vice Chairman, KWP Central Committee	Kapsan
Kim Ch'ang-man	Vice Premier, DPRK Vice Chairman, KWP Central Committee	Yenan
Yi Hyo-sun	Vice Chairman, KWP Central Committee	Kapsan
Pak Kŭm-chŏl	Vice Chairman, KWP Central Committee	Kapsan
Kim,Kwang-hyŏp	Vice Premier, DPRK	Kapsan
Chŏng Ir-yong	Vice Premier, DPRK	Kapsan
Nam Il	Vice Premier, DPRK	Kapsan
Yi Chong-ok	Vice Premier, DPRK	Kapsan
Pak Chŏng-ae	Vice Chairman, Supreme People's Assembly	Kapsan
Candidates		
Kim Ik-sŏn	Chief Justice, Supreme Court Chairman, Central Control Commission	Kapsan
Yi Chu-yŏn	Vice Premier, DPRK	Domestic
Ha Ang-ch'ŏn	President, Kim Il-song University	Yenan
Han Sang-du	Minister of Finance	Kapsan
Hyŏn Mu-gwang	Chairman, Machine Industry Commission	Kapsan

(Cf. Department of the Army, U.S. Army Handbook for Korea, p. 273.)

조선노동당조직표
Korean Workers Party Organization



Soviet Union had been attempting to impose its "erroneous line" upon the Korean Workers Party without considering the national peculiarities of Korea. The North Korean leaders seem to resent strongly the alleged Soviet attempt to subordinate the reactionary struggles of the regime to the overall political objectives of Moscow.

The Korean Workers Party

Officially designated Choson Nodong Dang, the Korean Workers Party, under the chairmanship of Kim Il-song, was formed on June 24, 1949, as the result of a merger between the North Korean Workers Party and the South Korean Workers Party. The merger was prompted by outlawing, in December 1948, of the South Korean Workers Party in South Korea and the subsequent migration of the outlawed organization to the North. Since then the Korean Workers Party has continued in power, unchallenged by any other groups, exercising absolute control over all phases of North Korean life. At the moment there is no prospective alternative in terms of potential rivalry to the Party, and through its networks of secret police and cell activities the Party has been able to effectively control and direct the daily lives of the people.

The Party hierarchy consists of elected assemblies and their executive committees, headed by the central organization at the top with similar but smaller agencies in the provinces, cities, and counties. At the lowest level, there are a multitude of primary organizations and cells which are subordinate to the county and city party organs.

The highest organ of the Party is, in theory, the all-Party Congress, convened by the Central Committee every four years. Under the Party constitution, the Congress is empowered to hear, discuss, and approve the reports of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission, and other bodies of the Party, to adopt or revise the program and rules of the Party, to decide on the basic questions of policy and tactics, and to elect the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. The delegates to the all-Party Congress are elected by members of the provincial Party assemblies. The members of the provincial assemblies are in turn elected by the members of the city and county Party assemblies.

In the interim between Party congresses, the Central Committee functions as the supreme policy-making body for the Party and the government. Composed of 85 regular members

and 50 candidate members, the Central Committee is required to hold its plenum no less than once every four months. The chairman and five vice chairmen are elected by the plenum. In order to guide Party Policy in the intervals between plenums, the Central Committee designates from among its members the Political Committee, sometimes known as presidium, which is composed of eleven regular members and five candidate members. In fact, the Political Committee, as the focus of real power and the source of every important party and government decision, controls the composition and activities of the Central Committee, to which it is theoretically responsible.

The Central Committee and its Political Committee are aided by the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Control Commission, which are elected by the Central Committee. The functions of the Central Auditing Commission are to examine Party finances and review the general performance of central Party organizations. The Control Commission is responsible for enforcement of Party discipline, and acts as a trial and appeals board for disciplinary cases submitted either by individuals or by provincial Party committees.

The Party's daily work is handled by ten standing executive departments: Propaganda and Agitation, Organization and Guidance, Heavy Industry, Light Industry, Agriculture, Construction and Transportation, Science and School Education, International Affairs, Commerce and Finance, and Fishery. It is largely through these departments that the Party supervises the policy implementation of the various government ministries. In a real sense, they represent the government within the government.

The basic units of the Party are some 60,000 cells, established wherever there are three or more Party members working in close association, such as factory, construction office, state or cooperative farm, government office, military unit, or village. Each cell elects its own chairman and vice chairman. The duties of cell members are to explain the Party program to their members and to the public; to organize and mobilize them for productive efforts; to strengthen ties between the Party and the public; to improve the people's political, economic, and cultural life; to collect membership dues; to organize and direct political education in the spirit of loyalty to the party, patriotism, and proletarian internationalism.

The Party membership is reported at 1,311,563, or 12 percent of the total population, representing the highest ratio of Party membership, in relation to population, among the Communist nations. Of this figure, workers accounted for 57 percent; peasants, 27 percent; white-collar workers and students, 11.6 percent; and Party, government, and other personnel, 4.4 percent.[7]

There are a number of social organizations and minor political parties which appear to be autonomous, but in reality are what the Party calls "transmission belts for maintaining the ties between the Party and the people." Necessarily, the primary condition for their existence is the recognition of the leadership role of the Korean Workers Party.

(4) Foreign Policy

The Communist-controlled government established in North Korea under the Soviet direction was formally recognized by the Soviet Union in October, 1948. As the weakest of the satellite governments at that time, North Korea was completely dependent on the Communist bloc for both its internal and international existence. Internationally, the government is recognized only by the Soviet Union, Communist China, their satellites and a few of their sympathizers among the newly independent nations. North Korean contacts with non-Communist nations have been largely confined to international Red Cross activities and to such non-governmental activities as participation in the International Geophysical Year. Refused United Nations membership, the North Korean Government has not been accepted for membership in the Universal Postal Union. Internally, the North Korean Government's economic program has depended heavily upon aid, both material and technical, from the Communist states.

The North Korean Government maintains embassies in the Soviet Union, Communist China, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, North Vietnam, East Germany, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Poland, the Mongolian People's Republic, and Romania.

From the formal establishment of the government in 1948 until the invasion of South Korea, the Soviet Union appears to have been the only state with which the North Korean Government maintained diplomatic relations. Before hostilities began, the Soviet Union accounted for approximately

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[7]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 271.

two-thirds of North Korea's total trade. Soviet-North Korean relations have been based on the 10-year agreement on economic and cultural cooperation signed on March 17, 1949.[8]

Before the 1950 invasion of South Korea, the presence of Soviet advisors at almost all levels of the North Korean governmental and economic structure was a prominent feature of North Korean life. The North Korean attack on the South in June 1950 changed the framework within which North Korea functioned. The Soviet advisors were pulled back as the North Korean armies were pushed to the Manchurian border, and it is doubtful that they have returned in numbers approximating their pre-1950 strength. The most important change in North Korea's international position, however, was the entry of the Chinese Communists into the conflict.

The Chinese Communists had begun to consolidate their hold on the Chinese mainland, and their entry into the Korean War signaled the end of the USSR's exclusive role in the direction of North Korean affairs. An economic and cultural agreement between Communist China and North Korea was signed in Peking in 1953. The agreement indicated that the Chinese had decided to take a share in underwriting the Government of North Korea militarily, politically, and economically. The agreement also formalized the open identification of China's national interest with the preservation and stabilization of the North Korean Government.

During 1962, North Korea seemed to lean toward the Chinese side of the Sino-Soviet schism which had arisen from the clash of the two Communist giants over general Communist strategy. Beginning in 1956, wide differences had developed between the two over three major issues: (1) coexistence with the West, especially with the United States; (2) support of "wars of liberation"; and (3) the degree to which nuclear war might be risked. North Korea, along the line of Communist China, advocated a "hard line" in dealing with the West, as against the Soviet Union's preference for coexistence. In particular, both countries agreed that armed anti-Western movements should be vigorously supported wherever they occurred. Pyongyang echoed Peking's strident denunciation of the Yugoslavian "revisionists."

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[8]Department of the Army, op. cit., p. 315.

North Korean broadcasts have constantly criticized the Soviet Union for gravely endangering socialist solidarity, yet in official speeches honor is paid to the Soviet Union for its leadership role as the first Communist state. Communist China was given unstinting praise. Finally in 1964, North Korea rejected the Soviet Union's invitation to the world conference of Communist parties called for December 15, on the ground that the conference was useless and would only add to the split in world Communism. North Korea even started to accuse the Soviet Union of interfering in its internal affairs.

In mid-1964 the North Korean Government made agreements with the lesser Communist states, ranging from cultural exchange with Albania to cattle shipment from the Mongolian People's Republic. Trade agreements with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and most significantly, with East Germany gave a clear indication of its dependence on the Soviet bloc for material as well as political support.

It has been evident that the North Korean Government has tried to gain Japanese cooperation mostly through left-wing unionists and left-wing socialist members of the Diet. But it is doubtful that Japan would recognize the North Korean Government because of the risks involved for United States-Japanese and South Korean-Japanese relations.

The second major foreign policy and propaganda line developed by the North Koreans is of direct concern to the South Korean people and United Nations. While continuing to declare that agencies of the United Nations established to aid Korea are the tools of the United States for its imperialistic campaign in Korea, the North Korean Government has repeatedly emphasized that a peaceful solution must be found to the question of Korean unification. North Korea has given support to the Soviet and Communist Chinese suggestions for an international conference to settle the Korean question. North Korea continues to stress that all foreign troops, including the Chinese People's Volunteers, have departed. This implies that the United States troops in South Korea, too, must be withdrawn and the South and North Koreans must meet and settle their differences peacefully without external assistance. North Korea has suggested that both North and South be admitted to the United Nations to provide a means of direct communication between the two groups. The major goal of both Governments is unification--to be accomplished in a way to give one of the governments hegemony over the peninsula.

(5) Industrial Development

The division of the Korean peninsula at the end of World War II resulted in unequal distribution of the mineral resources between the two parts of the country. Four-fifths of the available coal and much of the iron ore, graphite and gold are located in North Korea. She, moreover, retained the then existing electric power plants as well as the greatest concentration of metal manufacturing and industrial chemical facilities.

The removal of Japanese managers and technicians in 1945 left a deep gap in the economic structure of the entire country. In the South this gap has been only slowly filled. A systematic program of economic and technical assistance did not get under way until the formation of the Republic of Korea in August 1948. On the other hand, in North Korea, Soviet-trained Koreans and Soviet, Chinese and East German experts took over almost immediately after the repatriation of the Japanese specialists. Moreover, North Korea has maintained its initial industrial advantage because the government was able to enforce capital accumulation, impose stringent industrial controls, and adopt centralized economic planning.

According to a report by Kim Il-song in 1956, the socialized sector of the North Korean economy, consisting of state and cooperative enterprises, accounted for 98.3 per cent of the total output in 1955. The bulk of socialized production emanates from state enterprises, which are organized and controlled along the Soviet lines and which operate according to an over-all economic plan. The government so far has launched the two One-Year Plans of 1947 and 1948, the first Two-Year Plan of 1954-1956, the first Five-Year Plan of 1957-1961, and the Seven-Year Plan of 1961-1967.

As a result of the law of August 10, 1946, more than 90 percent of the entire industrial enterprise in North Korea was nationalized. Thus, large-scale private factories and enterprises, banks, transportation and communications, the economic foundation of the Japanese exploitation, were liquidated. Figures reported for 1949, compared with those of 1946, show that total industrial output increased 3.4 times while that of the nationalized industry 4.2 times, exceeding the 1944 production level by 20 percent. The gross output of farm and animal products increased 1.4 times between 1944 and 1949. National income doubled in 1949, as compared

with 1946, and factory and office workers' salaries increased 8.3 percent.[9] At this juncture the whole nation was miserably devastated by the Korean War.

In the nine years since the fighting stopped, North Korea has become something of a showcase, with plenty of window-dressing and propaganda for Communism in Asia. Great economic strides were claimed for the Three-Year Plan (1954-1956) which was fulfilled in two years and eight months.

(6) Land Reform and Collectivization

In March 1946, the North Korean Interim People's Committee proclaimed the ordinance on land reform, which stipulated that all land formerly owned by Japanese imperialists, national traitors, Korean landlords with more than 125 acres, absentee landlords, and churches, monasteries, and other religious organizations with more than 125 acres, and all land held in tenancy, be confiscated without compensation and be distributed without charge to landless peasants or peasants with small patches of land.

When the first part of the land reform was begun--that is, the confiscation of land--they were careful not to involve any large number of landlords on any one occasion. Undue agitation of landlords as a class was avoided lest they should organize themselves for revolt. Confiscations of land took place sporadically; confiscations did not even take place simultaneously within a prefecture. Only the properties of the absentee landlords and the large owners were confiscated at first. Another round would reach the lower level. This scheduling left landlords with smaller properties a faint hope that they might be spared. It assured the regime of minimal resistance at each stage and even some cooperation from those spared at a particular stage. Thus, the land reform program was carried out successfully without much problem.

In November 1954, the Communist Party launched a well-planned collectivization movement. Within the first year, 49 percent of the peasants were collectivized Three years after the cooperative movement had been initiated, 96 percent of the peasants were organized into 16,032 cooperatives with an average of 64 households each. By August 1958, the entire farm population in North Korea had been inducted into cooperatives.[10]

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[9]Robert A. Scalapino, North Korea Today, p. 52.

[10]Ibid., p. 76.

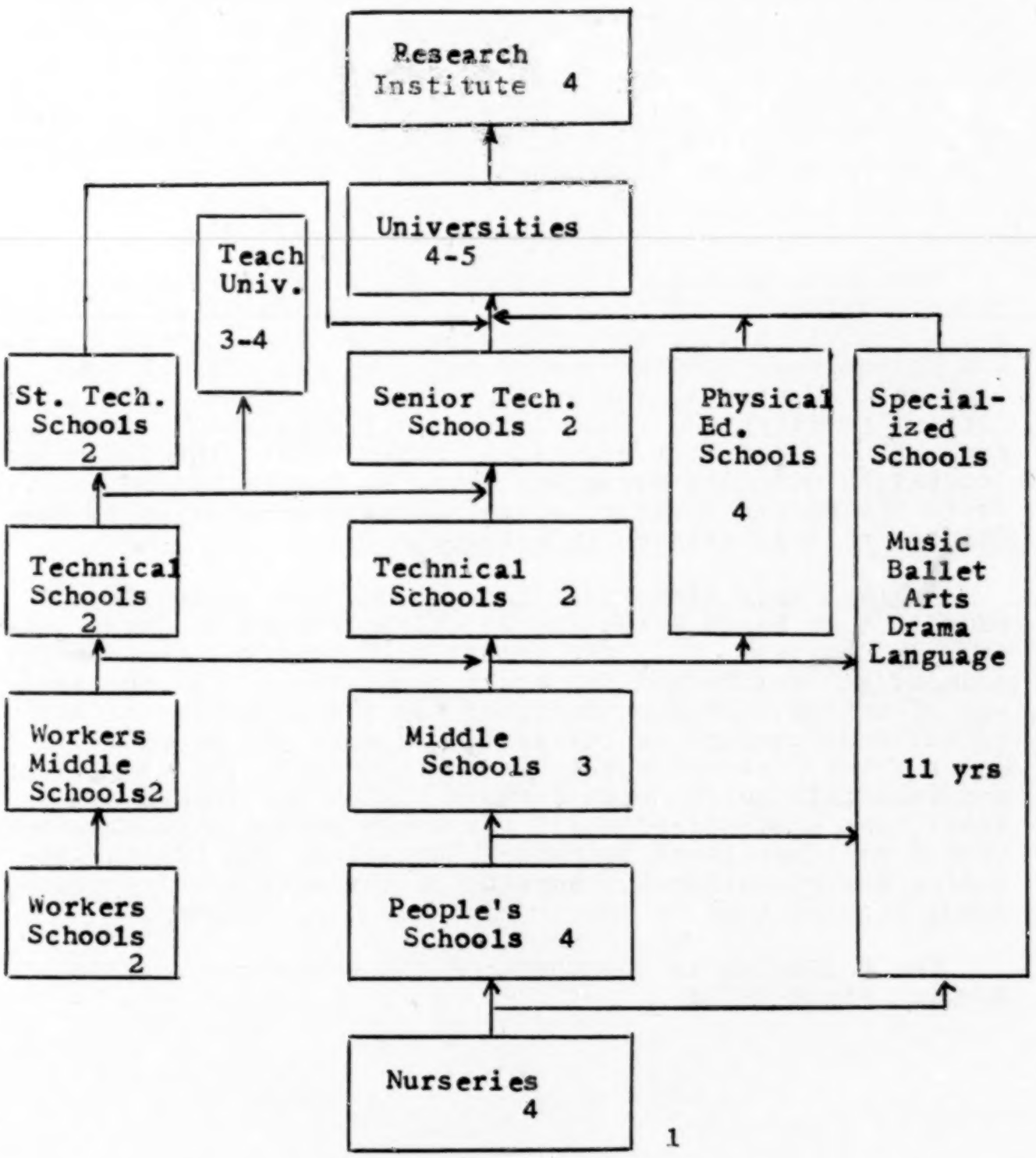
Under the cooperative system, the state exercises rigid control over the farmers' income and consumption. Since the grain dealers were eliminated in 1954, and the state-operated stores constitute the only channel for farmers' disposal of their surplus products, state control and supervision can easily be facilitated. The regime has instituted a progressive scale of tax in kind, compulsory accumulation of funds and grains at the cooperative level. Although the official figure for tax in kind was reduced from an average of 20.1 percent to 8.4 percent in 1958, actual rates of tax collection after 1959 cannot be accurately determined.

(7) The Educational System

The distinguishing feature of the North Korean educational system is its rebirth from the bitter ashes of Japanese colonialism and, more recently, from the destruction of the Korean War. Unlike the educational programs of most Communist countries, the North Korean system is not the product of revision and remodeling of a traditionally accepted form of nationalistic education. Even before the Japanese occupation with its stringent measures designated to obliterate the Korean culture, a self-imposed submission to the Chinese culture existed in Korea.

Against this historical background, the principles of education in North Korea can be characterized by three primary objectives: (1) the socialistic reorientation of the younger generation and the adult population; (2) the revival of nationalistic patriotism; (3) the promotion of the educational concept of integrating theory and practice. Under these broader objectives there emerged two concrete and immediate goals which focused (1) on providing at least one specialized skill for every person through universal and compulsory technical education, and (2) on elevating the educational standards of the entire able-bodied population to that of junior high school graduates.

The following is the chart of the educational system adopted since 1957:



(Cf. Robert A. Scalapino, North Korea Today, p. 134.)

(8) The Armed Forces

The North Korean People's Army, formally established in February 1948, developed from miscellaneous groups of Communist-led guerrilla forces which had been operating for more than a decade against the Japanese in Manchuria, China, and the Soviet Far East. In North Korea the total strength of the regular military establishments was estimated to be approximately 450,000--about 3.8 percent of the total population of 11.6 million.[11] This strength included the People's Army of some 360,000; the Navy of about 10,000; the Air Force of approximately 30,000, and other units of approximately 50,000.

The Army, according to the published accounts, consists of a cadre of officers and noncommissioned officers who constitute a permanent establishment designed to receive, train, and indoctrinate the conscripts, reserves, and militia. In performing this mission, the available ground forces reportedly consist of 18 infantry divisions organized into 6 corps, which in turn are organized into 2 armies. In addition, there are believed to be about 5 reserve divisions subject to periodic training. The presence of a general headquarters for artillery and for a mechanized force in the Ministry of National Defense suggests that the infantry divisions are supported by sizeable division and corps artillery groups, and, at least, one armored or mechanized division. Armament for the ground forces is said to include some 3,000 artillery pieces of various types, more than 4,000 rocket launchers and antitank guns, from 300 to 600 armored combat vehicles, and some 40,000 trucks and armored carriers.

The Navy, smallest of the three services in size, apparently ranks low in operational effectiveness and in priority for development. Presumably, its general headquarters at Pyongyang supervises shore installations that administer and supply its fleet, which is said to consist of about 150 to 170 small crafts including several destroyer escorts. The size and type of vessels limit naval capabilities to coastal patrolling and antismuggling activities. Operations reportedly are conducted from two coastal bases: Wonsan on the East and Chinnmpo on the West.

The Air Force includes five fighter divisions and one light bomber division. The bulk of the air combat strength is derived from some 700 MIG fighter planes, including some

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[11] U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, Military and Economic Information on North Korea, p. 1.

MIG 21's, which are roughly comparable to the United States F104. In addition, there are about 300 propellor-driven aircraft. Service facilities are available at 30 to 40 airfields, 16 of which are said to be capable of accommodating jet aircraft.

The territorial militia is an important reserve-type military organization in North Korea. It is composed of young men, women, factory workers, farmers, intellectuals, and others from all walks of life. It is organized in regiments composed of about 12 companies. The regimental strength is about 3,000 persons. Companies, generally formed in factories, villages, cooperatives, and schools, are assigned to county regiments, which are in turn assigned to local training brigades. Each brigade is sponsored and supervised by one of the Army corps. The militia's total strength in mid-1964 was estimated at approximately 500,000.[12] About half of the members were discharged Army soldiers who presumably served as unit commanders.

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[12]Department of the Army, p. 591.

The Central Government of North Korea

Supreme People's Assembly

Presidium of the Assembly

Supreme Court | Cabinet | Supreme Procurator's Office

National Defense, Foreign, Internal, Social Security, Finance, Power and Coal Industry, Metal and Chemical Industry, Building Materials Industry, Urban Industrial Construction, Forestry, Fishery, Grain and Procurement Administration, Higher Education, Common Education, Culture, Communications, Foreign Trade, City Management, Public Health.